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BY AUGUSTUS

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THE REORGANIZATION OF SPAIN BY AUGUSTUS

JOHN JAMES VAN NOSTRAND, JR.

PREFATORY NOTE

A knowledge of the chief geographic features of Spain and its position with reference to other parts of the Mediterranean World is essential to an understanding of its history, particularly the history of the Roman conquest. Separated from Italy by a broad expanse of sea and by untamed Gallic tribes, the Iberian peninsula was difficult of access to the Romans. It was much more closely joined by nature to Africa than to Europe, and the larger rivers, with the single exception of the Ebro, appeared to welcome invasion from the south and west rather than from the northern or eastern sides. After overcoming these obstacles the Romans had to adapt their tactics to meet guerilla opposition and their strategy to the conquest of small and loosely joined political units, both the results of the geographical configuration of the peninsula. Final Roman victory was then as much a conquest of nature as of man.

The history of Spain reaches far into the past. Phoenicians, Greeks and Carthaginians added their quota to a civilization in which Iberian and Celtic elements were combined. It remained for the Romans to unite and organize these different constituents and to make the Iberian peninsula an integral part of their great imperial domain. This was not the work of one man, nor of one brief period of time, but the activities of Augustus and the reorganization of 27-2 B.C. marked the beginnings of a systematic administration which endured. The aim of this study is to estimate the value of that organization by a survey of the political and administrative history of Spain from 218 to 19 B.C., by an examination of the reorganization of Spain under Augustus, and by an attempt to gauge its continuity during the first century of this era.

I. THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF SPAIN, 218-19 B.C.

The growth of Carthaginian power in Spain, after the first Punic War, had not failed to attract the attention of Rome, but no thought of Spain as a possible base of military operations against Italy appears to have entered the minds of Roman generals or statesmen. It is true that in 226 B.C. a treaty signed by Hasdrubal defined the northern limit of Carthaginian sway.¹ This treaty made the river Ebro the boundary of Carthaginian expansion in Spain. Rome might and did make alliances south of the line, but Carthage could not advance north of it. It rested, then, with Rome to enforce the treaty, that is, to protect the territory north of the Ebro and to support her allies.² But the failure to realize the Barcid menace and the engagement of her forces in Illyricum and Cisalpine Gaul caused Rome to leave the guardianship of this frontier to the free Greek city-states of northeastern Spain. The result of this shirking of responsibility was the capture of Saguntum by Hannibal in 219 B.C.³ and the unopposed march of the Carthaginian forces into Italy.

Shortly after the outbreak of the second war between Rome and Carthage, P. Cornelius Scipio, consul, was ordered to Spain.⁴ The news of Hannibal's rapid advance, however, led him to turn back at Massilia, after entrusting to his brother Gnaeus command of the fleet and army designed for the Spanish campaign.⁵ Beginning at Emporiae the Roman forces gradually fought their way southwards along the coast, until the year 212 B.C., when the destruction of the Roman army and the loss of both leaders

¹ This unusual policy of diplomatic interference in extra-Italian affairs was probably the result of appeals by Massilia, a friend of Rome and commercial rival of Carthage. Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, 121 ff. On the treaty see Poly. 2, 13, 7; 3, 27, 9. App. *Iber.* 7. Livy 21, 2.

² Precedents were not lacking. Rome had agreed to maritime restrictions imposed by Carthage and by Tarentum. The treaty with Hasdrubal was simply an application of the same principle to military operations, with the difference that Rome dictated the terms in this case.

³ Livy 21, 6-9; 11-15. Poly. 3, 17. App. *Iber.* 10.

⁴ 218 B.C. Livy 21, 26. Poly. 3, 45.

⁵ Livy 21, 61. Poly. 3, 76.

again gave to the Carthaginians control of all the territory south of the Ebro.⁶ The brilliant campaigns of the Younger Scipio restored Roman supremacy, and resulted in the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Spain.⁷

At this point Rome assumed the responsibility of imperial control of her newly acquired possessions. Military operations were commenced against those tribes which had not acknowledged the suzerainty of Rome, the city of Italica was founded, and new provincial officials were appointed.⁸ The emphasis still remained upon the military side of occupation, for the tribes accepted Roman authority with as little grace as they had that of the Carthaginians. From 207 B.C., revolt, submission, oppression and revolt followed in dreary repetitions steeped in blood and filled with horrors; at times the unemotional virtues of a Cato,⁹ or the humanity of a Gracchus¹⁰ offered hopes of speedy and permanent submission, but their examples were not followed and the grinding process of a merciless conquest went on until the natives were exhausted. The methods of warfare employed in subjugating and controlling the Spanish tribes need not be described.¹¹ A brief review, however, of the direction and extent of Roman sway is necessary as a basis for a more detailed study of the romanization of Spain under Augustus.

The territory held by the Romans in 206 B.C.¹² comprised the eastern coastline from Emporiae in the north to Carthago Nova. The capture of Gades in 206 B.C. had given the Romans a foothold on the Atlantic coast as well. In other words, practically all the Greek and Carthaginian settlements had fallen into their hands. Of the native tribes, many had been subdued and others

⁶ Livy, 25, 32-36. App. *Iber.* 16.

⁷ Livy 26, 41-51; 27, 17-20; 28, 1-4; 12-16; 19-38.

⁸ Livy 28, 38; 29, 1-3, 5, 13; 30, 2, 27. App. *Iber.* 38. Poly. 11, 25-33. Flor. 2, 17, 7.

⁹ Livy 34, 8-21, 26; 35, 10. App. *Iber.* 40-41.

¹⁰ Livy 40, 35; 44, 47-50. App. *Iber.* 43. Diodor. 29, 26. Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 1, 5. Poly. 26, 4. Flor. 2, 17, 9. Oros. 4, 20. Cic. *Brut.* 27, 104.

¹¹ For an ingenious but improbable defense of Rome see Frank, *op. cit.*, 129, 230.

¹² See Map. III.

made allies of the Roman people. These were the groups nearest the military posts of the Romans.

This territory Scipio handed over to his successors, the first two provincial governors sent out by Rome.¹³ These two men, not of consular rank though granted proconsular power, were given as separate military districts the territories known as Hither and Farther Spain. It was thought that the provinces would remain pacified, and so the number of troops was reduced.¹⁴ But the military strength of the interior tribes was underestimated. The obstinate defense of the natives together with the lack of continuity arising from frequent changes in commanders of the invading forces reduced Roman advance to a minimum. In the year 197 B.C. the increasing importance of the new province was recognized, and resulted in the election of two additional praetors to replace the two temporary proconsular officials.¹⁵

News of more serious outbreaks led, in 196 B.C., to the assignment of one Roman legion to each province,¹⁶ and in 195 B.C. one of the consuls, M. Porcius Cato, was sent to Spain.¹⁷ The successes of Cato offered a marked contrast to the doubtful or fruitless victories of his predecessors. Under his leadership the Romans subdued the eastern half of the peninsula.¹⁸ But either through ignorance on the part of the Senate, or for local political reasons,¹⁹ the provinces were declared pacified, and the control passed back in 194 B.C. to the regularly appointed praetors. From that date up to 171 B.C. the Roman advance was uneven. A defeat of Aemilius Paulus in 190 B.C. was offset by a victory

¹³ Livy 28, 38. App. *Iber.* 38. This division was probably made in order that one governor might watch the Celtiberi from the east while the other watched the Lusitani from the south.

¹⁴ Livy 30, 41.

¹⁵ Livy 32, 27-28; 33, 25. App. *Iber.* 39.

¹⁶ Livy 33, 26. App. *Iber.* 39.

¹⁷ See note 9.

¹⁸ A striking proof of the weakness of the Romans is to be found in the fact that Cato's first step was to drive a native force from Rhodae at the extreme northwest of the peninsula.

¹⁹ A desire to thwart the ambitions of the younger Scipio. See Heitland, *Roman Republic*, II, 43.

later in the same year.²⁰ Discontent began to appear not only among the legionaries, but even among the commanders;²¹ due in the former case to the length of service, the distance from home, and the hardships of the Spanish campaigns; the official unrest being a proof that Spain was not the most convenient place for refilling one's purse, or for the social and intellectual diversions which made Greece such an attractive field of operations.²² The pecuniary disadvantages of a Spanish command did not come from the poverty of the peninsula, for Cato had brought to Rome booty which rivalled in amount the spoils returned from the Eastern provinces. They were due to the long campaigns which left little time for systematized looting, to the wholesale destruction of their own property by the Spanish tribes, and finally to the work of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, praetor in Hither Spain 180-179 B.C., who adopted a policy of justice and kindness towards both subject and allied states, based on treaties which remained in force for twenty-three years. As a result of the subsequent interest in Spanish affairs displayed by Cato and Gracchus, and partly as a result of the readiness of the provincials to demand justice,²³ Spain enjoyed two decades of peace. But the mismanagement of the Roman governors caused two outbreaks which threatened to overthrow the power of the conquerors.

In 156 B.C. the Lusitani commenced a war which lasted, with brief intermissions, for twenty-three years. In the year 153 B.C. the Celtiberi revolted.²⁴ M. Fulvius Nobilior, who was sent out to reconquer them, was but the first of fifteen consuls who commanded armies in Spain between the years 153 and 133 B.C.²⁵

²⁰ Livy 37, 46. Oros. 4, 20.

²¹ App. *Iber.* 49. For mutiny in 206 B.C. see Livy 28, 19-38.

²² N. Feliciani, "L'Espagne à la fin du IIIe siècle avant J. C.," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XLVI, 363-398, presents strong arguments against the traditional view that the wealth of Spain was inexhaustible. But Cato had encouraged local industries and the treaties of Gracchus protected them. The true condition lay midway between extreme wealth and extreme poverty.

²³ App. *Iber.* 49. Livy 43, 2.

²⁴ App. *Iber.* 44.

²⁵ Schulten, *Numantia*, 266-268.

This was the last concerted struggle for freedom on the part of the Spanish tribes. Its measure of success was due not only to the incompetence of the Roman generals, but also to the unity of the tribesmen and their knowledge of Roman tactics. It failed because Rome at last found capable commanders, and because the natives, unable to throw off for long their tribal and personal jealousies, lost sight of the value of co-operation and destroyed their leader. The highest expression of Spanish national feeling was displayed by their commander, Viriathus.²⁶ But his personality alone could not hold together the forces he had gathered and his death at the hands of assassins marked the end of all general opposition to Roman arms. The fires of revolt still burned in scattered sections of the country, but the next few years were marked by a steady increase of Roman victories. Resistance came to an end with the capture and utter destruction of Numantia, a city of the Celtiberi, which had held the armies of Rome at bay for ten years.²⁷

After 133 B.C. Spain, for the most part, submitted to Roman rule. The emphasis, save on the borders of the provinces, shifted from military to civil, that is, administrative affairs. In 132 B.C. a commission of ten senators was sent to establish a form of civil government for the provinces.²⁸ Romanization went on rapidly during the years of peace. Roads were built, Roman traders penetrated the interior, Spanish troops served in the Roman armies, and returned with Roman ideas, language, customs, and dress. Tribute was levied in the most acceptable manner, in the form of a *stipendium*, a fixed amount payable directly to the Roman government.²⁹ Thus the Two Spains escaped the trials of those provinces whose taxes were collected by the *publicani*. The reports offered by the historians of this period bear witness to the peaceful spirit which characterized the years after the fall

²⁶ App. *Iber.* 50-75. Diodor. 32-33. Livy *ep.* 52-54. Oros. 5, 4. Flor. 2, 17.

²⁷ App. *Iber.* 76-97. Livy *ep.* 54-59. Flor. 2, 18. Vell. 2, 1. Oros. 5, 4-5. Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 5-7. All modern accounts have been superseded by the *Numantia* of Schulten.

²⁸ App. *Iber.* 99.

²⁹ Livy 43, 2. Cf. Frank, *op. cit.*, 129.

of Numantia. An expedition against the Baleares in 124-123 B.C.,³⁰ and an uprising in 112 B.C. in Farther Spain³¹ were the only hints of warfare from 133 to 105 B.C. At the latter date, incited by the weakness of Rome as exhibited in her defeats at the hands of the Teutons and of Jugurtha, the Lusitani revolted. By 101 B.C. this revolt was apparently crushed by D. Junius Silanus. During the following year, however, L. Cornelius Dolabella continued the Lusitanian campaign.³² A rebellion of the Vaccaei in 98 B.C. was put down with cruelty and treachery by the consul, Lucius Didius, in whose army there served as military tribune, Quintus Sertorius. So serious was this outbreak that, even though assisted by P. Licinius Crassus, proconsul in Hither Spain, Didius was forced to remain in his province for five years before his work was completed.³³

In the year 83 B.C. began the Sertorian War.³⁴ It marked the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Rome, being the first contest in which a Roman leader conducted a civil war, using a Roman province as a base. Throughout the war there was no desire expressed for independence from Rome. Sertorius proclaimed himself the legal ruler of Hither Spain, fighting against usurpers. Like Caesar, he was the champion of the Constitution; like Vespasian, his designs were on Rome. For eleven years Sertorius, aided by Marian troops and native levies, held his own against consular armies and famous generals. His downfall, like that of Viriathus, was due to the lack of unity among his followers and the treachery of his officers. After his assassination the war came quickly to an end.

The importance of Spain in Roman politics did not cease with the overthrow of the Sertorian party. Seven years later, in 65 B.C., Gn. Calpurnius Piso was sent to Spain as *quaestor propra-*

³⁰ Livy *ep.* 60.

³¹ App. *Iber.* 99.

³² Sext. Rufus, 4. CIL, I, p. 460.

³³ App. *Iber.* 99. Plut. *Sertor.* 3. Livy *ep.* 70. Strabo 3, 5, 11. Cf. Wilsdorf, *Leipziger Studien*, I, 64 ff.

³⁴ App. *Iber.* 101. App. *B. C. I.*, 108-115. Oros. 5, 23. Livy *ep.* 91-93. Plut. *Sertor.*

tore, with the evident purpose of establishing there a military base for the Catilinarian conspirators.³⁵ The murder of Piso put an end to this plan, and it was not until 61 B.C. that Spain again appeared to play its part in extra-local affairs. On this occasion it merely offered to Julius Caesar a field for the restoration of his finances and for military exploits.³⁶ The results of Caesar's years were satisfactory to both parties concerned; for he returned to Rome free from debt, and with successful campaigns in the north and northwest to his credit, while the Spanish people congratulated themselves over reduced taxes, just government and excellent administration.

Spain, as a strategic point in the struggles of the next few years, became the battleground of factional fighting. Pompey gained the Two Spains as his province in the year 55 B.C.,³⁷ was allowed to retain them for a five-year period, and might have been the first of the Caesars had he made use of his legions there. But the men of that generation, with the exception of Caesar, believed that Rome was still the center of imperial strength. Following this idea, Pompey remained in the capital, conducting the government of Spain through *legati*. In the contest between Pompey and Caesar, Spain was the first Pompeian province to be attacked. A brief and merciful campaign resulted in the submission of Pompey's legions and the Spanish tribes to Caesar.³⁸

The harsh government of Caesar's lieutenant, Q. Cassius Longinus, led to a revolt which was apparently crushed by the battle of Munda.³⁹ But the memory of Cassius' oppressions led the provincials to place their men and resources at the disposal of the Republicans fighting against the heirs of Caesar. For some

³⁵ Sallust *Cat.* 19, Sueton. *Caesar* 9. Dio 36, 44. Cic. *Sull.* 24, 67 ff. Cic. *Mur.* 38, 82.

³⁶ Sueton. *Caesar* 18. Plut. *Caesar* 5, 11-12. Livy *ep.* 103. App. *B. C.* 2, 8. App. *Iber.* 102. Cic. *Balb.* 19, 43. Dio 37, 52-53.

³⁷ Livy *ep.* 105. Flor. 4, 2, 12. Eutrop. 6, 18. Vell. 2, 48, 1. App. *B. C.* 2, 18. Dio 39, 33. Caesar *B. C.* 6, 1. Plut. *Crassus* 15-16. Plut. *Caesar* 28, 36.

³⁸ Dio 41, 22. Cic. *ep. ad Att.* 10, 8-18. Caesar *B. C.* 1, 37-55, 59-87; 2, 17-21. Sueton. *Caesar* 34.

³⁹ Dio 42, 15-16; 43, 28-42. App. *B. C.* 2, 103-106. Plut. *Caesar* 56. Vell. 2, 55. Livy *ep.* 116. Ovid *Fasti* 3, 715.

time Sextus Pompey, a son of the great Gnaeus, held Spain.⁴⁰ His departure for Sicily left the province in the hands of Lepidus, the *triumvir*. A period of peace followed, enduring to 27 B.C. In that year Augustus commenced a campaign against the Cantabri and the Astures which rounded out the Roman conquest, making the peninsula a political unit.

II. THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION OF SPAIN, 218-27 B.C.

That Rome entered upon her series of conquests without preparation, if not without real desire for expansion,¹ is demonstrated in the early history of the Spanish provinces. The first commander there, a consul, delegated his power to a *legatus*, nor did he reach Spain until the year following his appointment.² This indication of unpreparedness was supplemented by the irregularities attendant upon the election of the younger Scipio to command the armies in Spain.³ *Proconsules ex plebiscito* continued to be chosen up to the year 197 B.C. Then, by the addition of two praetors, a number of officials was created sufficient to govern the various parts of Rome's growing empire.⁴ These praetors governed either with praetorian or with proconsular power, and in times of crisis were replaced by men of proconsular rank. There is one instance of a quaestor being chosen to govern Hither Spain,⁵ and other exceptional appointments were made during the last years of the Republic, but in general it may be said that the chief executives of the Roman Republican government in Spain were consuls or proconsuls, praetors or praetors. The usual number of subordinate officials accompanied their chiefs; one quaestor for each province, one *legatus* for each praetor, three *legati* for each consul.

The term of office was regularly one year, but exceptions to

⁴⁰ App. B. C. 3, 4; 4, 84, 94. Dio 45, 10; 48, 17. Cic. *ep. ad Att.* 16, 14.

¹ The theory of Mommsen, and especially of Frank.

² Livy 22, 22. Poly. 3, 97, 2-4. App. *Iber.* 15.

³ Livy 26, 18-20. Poly. 10, 2. App. *Iber.* 18. Flor. 2, 6, 37. Eutrop. 3, 15. Zonar. 9, 7.

⁴ Livy 32, 27. Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I, 517.

⁵ Gn. Calpurnius Piso, in 65 B.C.

this rule were common both at the beginning and at the close of the Republican period.⁶ Officers and troops at first traveled to Spain by sea by way of Genua and Massilia,⁷ but with the improvement of roads and the pacification of the tribes of southern Gaul, the land route came to be more commonly used. It was not until the end of the Republican period, however, that an army traveled the entire distance by land.⁸

The civil administration of Spain before the time of Augustus has not been the subject of any connected account. Some details of Republican rule have been given a place in the pages of the historians of antiquity; others may be assumed from the fact that they were common to all the provinces. But it should be remembered that Spain was the governmental experiment station of the Romans.⁹ Therefore it is not unreasonable to suppose that many early schemes were given a trial in Spain, failed, and were soon forgotten. Of the plans which succeeded, there remains enough to construct the following account.

Many details of administration were conducted by the military officials. In fact, the division between civil and military functions was not completely carried out until the time of Diocletian. But the manifold character of the duties of a provincial governor was much more apparent at the beginning of a conquest than after pacification had been secured. The administrative duties of a conquering official may be divided roughly into the collection of tribute, taxes, and all other forms of compensation which the fortunes of war brought to the victors; the regulation of industries, commerce and trade; the definition of boundaries; the introduction and supervision of Roman law courts; the determination of the political status of the subject communities; and the recommendation of individuals or groups for admission

⁶ P. Cornelius Scipio, 218-212. P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio, 210-206. L. Cornelius Lentulus, L. Manlius Acidanus, 205-201. T. Didius, 98-94. P. Licinius Crassus, 97-94. Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, 79-72. Gn. Pompeius Magnus, 77-72, 54-49.

⁷ App. *Iber.* 26, 27, 37, 42.

⁸ Cic. *Vat.* 5, 12. Sueton. *Caesar* 56. App. *B. C.* 2, 103. Dio 43, 32. Oros. 6, 16.

⁹ Sicily offered few problems. It was smaller, well organized, a text book of hellenistic administration.

to the citizen body of Rome. All of these duties were performed under the direction of the Senate, or subject to its approval. In many cases the first step in organization was taken by the official to whom a province had been assigned, assisted by a commission of ten senators. The work of these men was incorporated in a *lex provinciae*.) Of the commission chosen for Spain and its work, we know only the date of its appointment, 133 B.C.¹⁰ That it was not appointed until after a century of conflict indicates the difficulty which the Romans experienced in subjugating the Spanish tribes. However, the provincial governors did not wait for the guidance of a *lex provinciae*. The collection of revenue was too important a task to admit of delay.

There are records of large amounts of booty obtained in Spain, beginning with the year 214 B.C.¹¹ Although the totals by no means equalled those returned from the East, the Romans might reasonably hope that the province, when subdued, would prove a profitable investment. Money and corn were usually sent out to the Roman armies but this was due to the fact that the local mints were not used by the Romans, also to the lack of surplus grain in a land whose wealth lay in cattle, orchards and minerals.¹² The booty consisted of bullion or works of art,¹³ as did the compulsory contributions which were often levied.¹⁴ Some regular tribute was evidently collected early in the time of Roman occupation, for Livy records that in 205 B.C. the communities of Spain were ordered to pay double taxes and furnish clothing for the army.¹⁵ The amount of the regular tax was light, for the Romans, in order to retain the friendship of the tribes, levied only the twentieth required by their Barcid predecessors.¹⁶

¹⁰ App. *Iber.* 99.

¹¹ Livy 25, 39; cf. 26, 47; 28, 38; 31, 20; 32, 7; 33, 27; 34, 46; 39, 42; 40, 43; 41, 7; 41, 28; 45, 4.

¹² 182 B.C., the first exception noted (Livy 40, 35).

¹³ Cf. references cited in note 11.

¹⁴ Livy 21, 61; 22, 20; 40, 47. Voluntary contribution, Livy 40, 44.

¹⁵ Livy 29, 3; cf. 30, 3.

¹⁶ One may agree with the statement of Frank (*op. cit.*, 129), that "this new province cost the state more than it yielded," if the reckon-

Commercial life had been interrupted by the Roman conquest. The series of wars during the latter half of the third century had not only robbed Spain of her portable wealth, and put an end to steady industrial production of any sort, but it had also brought with it a new master and new commercial relationships. Of the first steps in the necessary readjustment we know little. In 197 B.C. Cato reopened the silver and iron mines.¹⁷ The other industries apparently struggled along without much assistance. As a rule the extant accounts of contemporaries are filled with military deeds and little space is given to consideration of the commercial and industrial development of Spain. Individual merchants followed the Roman standards,¹⁸ but how they were protected, what restrictions were placed upon the native dealers, or what encouragement was given them we do not know. An excellent statement of the administrative problems as they appeared to the Romans is given by Bouchier:¹⁹

The task which lay before the Republic was to complete the conquest of the peninsula: in the south to add the idea of a state to that of a number of isolated towns by providing common magistrates, an official religion, priesthood, language, and code of laws; in the center to develop the natural resources of a not very productive district; in the north to bring down the fierce highland clans to the plains, to overawe them with military colonies, and encourage them to pursue the peaceful occupations of mining and agriculture, or else to take service as legionaries or auxiliaries.

In the year 206-205, by appointing two officers of proconsular rank²⁰ to succeed the Younger Scipio, Rome took the first step in the process of division which ultimately made of the Iberian peninsula six provinces. It was not until 197 B.C., however, that the Two Spains were definitely established as separate military districts, with a regularly elected praetor in charge of

ing be in money. But the Romans used Spain as a recruiting ground for auxiliary and legionary troops (Livy 27, 38. 209 B.C.). For the imperial period see Arnold, *Studies of Roman Imperialism*, 143.

¹⁷ Livy 24, 31.

¹⁸ Livy 28, 22.

¹⁹ E. S. Bouchier, *Spain under the Roman Empire*, 16.

²⁰ Livy 28, 38. App. *Iber.* 38. Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, 1, p. 633, note 3.

each.²¹ Almost half a century elapsed before the boundaries were accurately determined.²² Hither and Farther Spain remained the two divisions until 49 B.C. At that time Pompey, to whom the Two Spains had been entrusted, governed them through three *legati*, each with a district of his own. This was the first attempt at a tripartite division of the peninsula.²³

During the wars which followed, civil administration was demoralized, if not altogether destroyed. At any rate, no hint of a reorganization of the provinces has come to us from the records of 49–27 B.C. But the mass of evidence indicating a tripartite division between 27 B.C. and 14 A.D. is conclusive. Mommsen's earlier view²⁴ that the division did not take place before the principate of Tiberius, was withdrawn,²⁵ and many efforts have been made to establish a more definite dating. The work of Detlefsen has been mentioned.²⁶ Of the Spanish writers, Lafuente and Altamira offer little assistance.²⁷ Partsch, Ursin, Mispoulet and Gardthausen have offered solutions of the problem.²⁸ The final word has not been written, nor is it my intention to discuss at length the arguments brought forward in support of different dates. But reference should be made to two recent discussions, one by Braun,²⁹ the other by Wallrafen.³⁰ The former concludes

²¹ Livy 32, 27–28. Note the exceptional union of the two provinces under one praetor during the second Macedonian war, 167 B.C. (Livy 44, 17).

²² App. *Iber.* 49; cf. 39. Livy 33, 25.

²³ Caesar *B. C.* I, 38, 1. Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, I, 102. A military division and not permanent. For another view see Detlefsen, in *Comm. phil. in honorem Mommseni*, p. 28.

²⁴ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, ed. Mommsen, 5, 35 (ch. 28).

²⁵ *Res Gestae* . . . , iterum ed., p. 222.

²⁶ See note 23.

²⁷ Lafuente (I, 48, col. 2) follows Dio 53, 12, and App. *Iber.* 102: "Dio al senado la Betica, y se asigno a se el resto de la Peninsula, del cual hizo despues una doble provincia con los nombres de Lusitania y Tarraconense . . ." Altamira (I, 114): "Augusto (o quiza su sucesor Tiberio) formo con parte de la Ulterior otra provincia llamada Lusitania . . ."

²⁸ Partsch, *Die Darstellung Europas in den geographischen Werken des Agrippa* (Breslau, 1875); Ursin, *De Lusitania provincia* (Helsingfors, 1884). Both quoted by Wallrafen, see note 30.

²⁹ Braun, *Die Entwicklung der spanischen Provinzialgrenzen*.

³⁰ Wallrafen, *Die Einrichtung und kommunale Entwicklung der römischen Provinz Lusitanien*.

there was a division into three provinces made by Agrippa in 27 B.C., at which time Baetica was made a senatorial province; that between 7 and 2 B.C. Augustus revised the boundaries of the first division, giving to Baetica, Lusitania and Hispania Citerior the territories which they held up to the time of Diocletian. On the other hand, Wallrafen believes that the division of Agrippa was not an administrative one, but simply the withdrawal of Lusitania from Hispania Ulterior and of Asturia and Callaecia from Hispania Citerior to form a military district. He believes that the temporary division was made permanent, that is, transferred from a military to a civil basis, by the definite organization of the three provinces about 15 B.C., and that at that date Baetica became a senatorial province.

The shortest and clearest presentation of the arguments in favor of a dating after 15 B.C. is given by Kornemann,³¹ who bases his selection of 15 B.C. as a *terminus post quem* on (1) the foundation of the colony Augusta Emerita in 25 B.C., (2) the praetorian rank of P. Carisius, governor of Citerior 25–22 B.C., (3) the probable date, 19 B.C., of Agrippa's measurements of *Lusitania cum Asturia et Callaecia*, (4) the foundation of other Augustan colonies "*utraque Hispania*" in 15 B.C. On the other hand, 6 B.C. is taken as the *terminus ante quem* on the grounds (1) that Pliny made use of statistics compiled by Augustus, i.e., before 14 A.D.; (2) that these statistics were compiled before the establishment of the Lancienses Oppidani as a stipendiary community, i.e., before 6 A.D.; (3) that the tripartite division included a change in the eastern boundary of Baetica, a change made before 2 B.C.; (4) that Callaecia, made an administrative unit for the first time in the tripartite division, addressed C. Caesar in an inscription which dates from before 6 B.C.

Between 15 B.C. and 6 B.C., Kornemann points out three possible dates for the division, 14, 10, and 8 B.C. The choice of one of these dates must be an arbitrary one without positive proof. In rejecting Kornemann's choice of 8 B.C., and accepting Wallrafen's date, 15–14 B.C., I am governed by a fairly strong argu-

³¹ Kornemann, *Die Entstehung der Provinz Lusitanien*.

ment from probability. There was no reason why the division should be postponed after the final subjugation of the Astures and Cantabri. Then, if ever, was the time to transfer Baetica from imperial to senatorial control. The military importance of Lusitania as a base of attack upon the northern tribes ceased with their conquest, and the troops could be transferred without much fear to the Hither Province. The evidence which appears to favor a later date can be explained independently of such a supposition. An inscription of Baetica³² came at a time of general rejoicing and need not have represented any local change at that time. In like manner the honors paid to C. and Lucius Caesar³³ by the provincials may be dated at 8 B.C. without affecting the date of the tripartite division. The strongest argument in favor of the later date is that the changes were not incorporated in the *Agrippa-Karte*, and that Augustus would not make such changes before the death of Agrippa through fear of injuring the pride of his lieutenant. One may question the assumption that exact provincial divisions were given in the *Karte*, and it is highly improbable that Augustus would postpone an administrative step for eight years with the sole motive of preserving intact the pride of Agrippa.³⁴

III. MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT OF SPAIN, 218-27 B.C.

Although Augustus was professedly and at heart an Occidentalist he utilized all traces of Hellenistic organization in the administration of the great western territories of Rome. Greek civilization had been spread over the Mediterranean lands in and by city-states, and even the vast ideas of world-empire and uni-

³² Imp. Caesari Augusto p(atri) p(atriae), Hispania Ulterior Baetica, quod beneficio eius et perpetua cura provincia pacata est . . . (Dessau, I, 103 = CIL, VI, 31267). Mispoulet would date the division of Hispania Ulterior from this inscription, on or after 2 B.C. (*Revue de Philologie*, XXX, 302).

³³ Kornemann, *op. cit.*, 228, notes 1, 2.

³⁴ Agrippa's pride did not always hinder Augustus. See Bury, *Students' Roman Empire*, 50. For another refutation of this argument see Wallrafen, 56.

versal citizenship had not driven out of use the time-tried and successful method of incorporating new communities into a common *Kulturgebiet* by the establishment of urban centers as ever-present reminders of the power and glory of the conquerer. In the three Gauls little pioneering work had been done,¹ but in Spain and particularly in Baetica the earlier foundations of Phoenician and Carthaginian settlements afforded the Romans a basis for the approved method of administration. The persistence and power of this foreign influence had had its effect on native organization. The old tribal units were breaking down, and many of the village communities exercised the sovereign rights of a Greek *polis*.

Of the 175 towns in Baetica at the time of Augustus, Abdera, Asido, Baelo, Ebusus, Gades, Lascuta, Malaca, Oba, Sexi, Turriregina, Vesci, and Iptuci were foreign settlements. Some of them dated back to the days of Phoenician colonization. They were originally trading stations, and as such had exerted a marked influence over the native tribes of the adjacent interior. It was not until the advent of the Barcids, however, in 226 B.C. that any attempt at thorough exploitation was made. During their rule the people of the southern part of the peninsula learned the cost of civilization. The Turduli, Turdetani and Baeturi were tamed, were trained to pay tribute in men and money, and were taught to live in cities, to prefer the restraints of peace to the freedom of tribal war.

After this preliminary education, the people of Baetica proved to be docile pupils of the Romans. By 133 B.C. this section of the Farther Province was essentially romanized.² The coins of many of the towns indicate a continuous municipal life from the time of the Carthaginian conquest.³ The political readjustment was not difficult.⁴ The commercial readjustment, however, was more arduous. It was most keenly felt, no doubt, by the traders of

¹ O. Hirschfeld, *Klio*, VIII (1908), 464-476. Reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, No. VI.

² Strabo 3, 2, 15.

³ Zobel de Zangroniz, II, 3-12, 200-205.

⁴ Livy 32, 2. Cic. *pro Balb.* 15, 34. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, III, 9.

Gades and the other Carthaginian settlements, men whose knowledge and acquaintanceship were confined to a business world of which Rome had not been a part. But the subjugation of the neighboring restless tribes brought peace to the country and an opportunity for economic recovery.⁵

Throughout the period 218–133 B.C. Roman town foundations in the Two Spains were military in their character. The territory later known as Baetica received three foundations of this kind. In 206 B.C. Italica was chosen by the younger Scipio as a home for some of his veterans. It was given the title of *municipium*, retaining that status in the time of Hadrian.⁶ The only colony of this period in Baetica was Carteia, founded about 170 B.C. The Senate granted its citizens the Latin right and settled here the sons of Roman soldiers by Spanish mothers.⁷ Corduba, although it received some Roman settlers about 150 B.C., was not officially incorporated until a much later date.⁸

With the fall of Numantia in 133 B.C., the military motives for municipal establishments lost much of their force. Rome's energies, moreover, were absorbed by local reforms and civil wars. It was not until the revolt of Sertorius that the Iberian peninsula once more attracted attention. By that time administrative needs or political expediency dictated the numbers and location of new provincial municipalities. In Baetica, Caesarian foundations are the first evidences of this new policy. The colonies Hasta Regia, Hispalis, Itucei, Ucubi and Urso were established by Caesar, or by the triumvirs in accordance with the memoranda left by him. Twelve *municipia*, bearing the cognomen Iulia, were also established by Caesar.⁹

The centralizing forces of Phoenician, Greek and Cartha-

⁵ Parvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute*. Fertig, *Land und Leute*.

⁶ Sueton. *Augustus* 94. Gellius 16, 13, 4. CIL, II, 1135. Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies* . . . , p. 380.

⁷ Livy 28, 30; 43, 3.

⁸ CIL, II, p. 306. Perhaps Pompeian.

⁹ Artigi quod Iulienses, Asido quae Caesarina, Concordia Iulia, Constantia Iulia, Contributa Iulia, Fama Iulia, Gades (see below, p. 116), Iliturgi quod Forum Iulium, Osset quod Iulia Constantia, Restituta Iulia, Sexi Firmum cognomine Iulium, Urgia cognomina Castrum Iulium.

ginian civilization did not affect to an appreciable extent the political organization of west central Spain. There are legends of Greek settlements on the Atlantic coast which may reflect an actual colonization by the pathfinders of the Massiliot or Phocaean merchants.¹⁰ The Barcids, too, had made some impression upon the farther bank of the Anas river.¹¹ But the people of Lusitania lived in small groups, a sort of "twilight zone" between pure tribal units and true city-states. Their cities were citadels and little else,¹² with the possible exception of coast towns like Olisipo and Salacia, or of the puniceized settlements such as Balsa and Myrtilis. Far in the north the tribal grouping was larger and firmer. Hermandica, or Elmantike, later Salamanca, was the center of the Vaccaei, a large and important tribe.

The absence of any real unity made conquest by the Romans as difficult as it was certain. Each small group had to be conquered in turn, and then watched carefully lest it should suddenly vanish, only to reappear in the ranks of the enemy.¹³ A policy of extermination was the natural result. Strongholds were destroyed and the inhabitants killed or sold into slavery. This destructive work went on from the first meeting of Lusitanians and Romans in 193 B.C.¹⁴ to the outbreak of the Sertorian War. Fighting did not cease until 60 B.C.,¹⁵ but about the year 80, Q. Caecilius Metellus founded in the south a military station which took its name from the founder. Metellinum¹⁶ was a colony in the time of Augustus. Whether it received the *ius coloniae* at the time of its foundation cannot be determined, but it represented the first attempt to introduce Roman municipal life into this part of the peninsula. The second town to be raised above the stipendiary rank was Salacia.¹⁷ Its cognomen

¹⁰ Bouchier, *Spain under the Roman Empire*, p. 12.

¹¹ Wallrafen, *Einrichtung*, p. 35.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

¹³ Livy 38, 35. App. *Iber.* 44-45.

¹⁴ Livy, 35, 7.

¹⁵ Livy *ep.* 103.

¹⁶ Pliny 4, 117.

¹⁷ Wallrafen, *Einrichtung*, p. 38, note 4. CIL, II, p. 802.

Imperatoria is neither Augustan nor Caesarian; hence it is conjectured that Sextus Pompey conferred upon the town its second name, and that at the same time he granted to its citizens the Latin right. It was to Caesar, the successor of Alexander in city founding,¹⁸ that Lusitania was indebted for the greatest number of municipal additions at the hands of a single individual. Three colonies, Pax Iulia, Norba, and Scallabis, were established by him, and his liberal hand gave to the province its single municipality with full Roman rights, Olisipo. He also advanced Myrtilis and Eborra to the status held by Salacia.

In the municipalization of the Hither Province, the Romans had a foundation of Greek and Carthaginian coast towns upon which to build. The Greeks had entered this district as market seekers, and made no attempt to secure more than "quarters" for trading purposes. The relationship between the newcomers and the natives was apparently one of latent hostility, if the accounts¹⁹ of Emporiae, the first Greek trading post, be true. The mutual suspicion which prevailed there was perhaps exceptional, for in the other Greek towns the immigrant element was so small that it was soon merged into the larger native population.²⁰ On the whole, it is difficult to attribute to the Greeks a large amount of direct influence upon the political development of the Iberian tribes. The centralization of the coast cantons into urban communities was due rather to the needs of trade, and to the wealth which came from an increasing commerce. Rhodae, Emporiae, Chersonesus and Alonae had Greek settlers, but the assimilation was so thorough that only the first two have preserved a survival of Hellenic influence in the use of Greek on their coins. By the time of the Barcid conquest the city-dwelling habit had spread along the coast and up the larger river valleys. The most important of the river towns was Saguntum, an ally of the Romans about 225 B.C.

¹⁸ Pompey also has a claim to this title, but his foundations failed to become the nuclei of a new civilization as did Caesar's.

¹⁹ Strabo 3, 4, 8. Poly. 2, 6, 19. Pauly-Wissowa, V, 2527.

²⁰ Bouchier, pp. 10-11.

Carthaginian activity in eastern Spain was neither intensive nor permanent. The only foundations²¹ were some naval stations in the Balearic islands and Carthago Nova, for a brief period the military center of a new empire. From it the commands of the Barcids carried weight beyond the Ebro and the Pyrenees to Massilia,²² but in 206 B.C. the city was in the hands of the Romans, and its former owners were driven from the peninsula.

Roman leaders, then, had to weld into a political unity a few Greek coast settlements, one Carthaginian town, a narrow hinterland of hellenized natives, and a vast stretch of unknown territory beyond. Conquest was the first step, and the wars of the period from 218–133 B.C. were so severe and so continuous that Roman foundations during that time were primarily military. Tarraco, the first Roman foundation in all Spain, was the work of the Scipios.²³ It was used from the first as the chief military base of the province. Graccuris, a reorganization of the original Ilurcis in 179 B.C., and Valentia, a settlement of veterans in 138 B.C., are the only direct evidences of municipal creation on the part of the Romans during the conquest period. Many native towns are mentioned by Livy, and numismatic finds attest their wealth and number, but the general policy here, as in Lusitania, was to scatter the forces of the enemy, not to encourage the centralization which would come from the building of towns.²⁴

After the destruction of Numantia, municipal life was looked upon with more favor by the Romans. Few of the later foundations were more than organized native towns, a proof of the advanced character of these Iberian municipalities. Unfortunately the details of this period are lacking. The work of Sertorius cannot be ascertained but we know that some of his troops were settled in Spain by Pompey.²⁵ The assignment of town founda-

²¹ Schulten, in Pauly-Wissowa, VIII, 2, 2033–2034.

²² Bouchier, pp. 11–12.

²³ *Scipionum opus* (Pliny 3, 21).

²⁴ Cato sought to destroy the towns (Livy 34, 8–21). Cf. the work of Gracchus (App. *Iber.* 44).

²⁵ A conclusion based upon the number of Sertorii in Spain. Cf. CIL II, Index Nominum.

tions to the period 133-49 B.C. can be made only by a doubtful process of elimination. Given the lists of colonies and Roman municipalities of Pliny, we may segregate the foundations of Augustus, which are identified by their cognomen *Augusta*. The foundations of Caesar may be identified by the cognomen *Iulia*. There remain eight *municipia civium Romanorum* which may have attained their status before Caesar's time. Baetulo, Blandae and Iluro were situated on the coast north of Tarraco; Ilerda, not far from Tarraco, and Osca had played an important part in the civil wars; Biscargis and Turiasso were on the Ebro; while Bilbilis was but an outpost of this romanized Ebro district.

After his victories over the Pompeian commanders in Spain, Caesar granted the *ius coloniae* to Acci, Carthago Nova and Celsa. He raised to the status of *municipia civium Romanorum* Calagurris and Dertosa. Castulo, *Iulia Libica* and the *Tearulienses* were granted the Latin right by him; and the *stipendiaria* *Iuliobriga* and *Segisama Iulia* were evidently organized as towns by his orders.

From the foregoing account one can see that the Roman towns founded in Spain between 218 B.C. and 133 B.C. were conquest communities, groups of veterans settled in the hellenized or punicized districts for the purpose of maintaining peace. Metelinum, the only foundation of the next half century, was a belated representative of this type. During this period the privileges of Roman citizenship were too jealously guarded to permit their extension to native communities in the provinces.

A decided departure from this policy of exclusion is shown in the work of Sertorius, Pompey and Caesar. They may have been moved to a liberal extension of the rights of Roman citizenship by a selfish desire to obtain men, money and good-will in return for favors granted, or by a genuine interest in the welfare of at least this portion of the empire. These motives were not contradictory, and both were probably instrumental in bringing about the official romanization of Spain.

There were four factors which made this new policy practicable and desirable. In the first place the districts were pre-

pared for local autonomy. Then, too, it was to the best interest of the party leaders to obtain the fidelity of the provincials by liberal grants of citizenship. Again, the independent powers (assumed or conferred) of these leaders freed them from the restraints of the conservative authorities in Rome. Finally, the *Leges Iulia* and *Plautia Papiria* had established a precedent which Sertorius and his successors were quick to follow.²⁶

IV. THE PROVINCIAL REORGANIZATION OF SPAIN UNDER AUGUSTUS

The history of Roman Spain under the beneficent rule of Augustus and his successors in the principate is more intelligible than that of any period previous thereto. This is true in the first place because romanization was carried on by intelligent men following a definite plan, and in the second place because it was not confined to a portion of the peninsula but included the whole of it. Unity and continuity were, therefore, the two characteristics of Roman rule under the early Empire. Spain had had a century of vain resistance to Roman arms, a second century of administrative experiments and civil wars; under the Empire it was to have a season of peace and prosperity. During this time the Spanish people demonstrated their ability along many different lines. They furnished Rome material wealth from fields and mines,¹ gave soldiers, scholars, poets, priests and two of her most famous emperors.² The foundation upon which this

²⁶ Roman municipalities (*coloniae* and *municipia*) in Spain before Augustus:

	Lusitania	Baetica	Hispania Citerior
Founded by Caesar	6	17	8.
Other foundations	2	2	11*

* Cf. p. 102 f.

This tabulation, based on incomplete evidence, cannot claim mathematical accuracy. It is correct, at least, in showing that Caesar's foundations outnumbered those of all his predecessors, and in demonstrating that the greater portion of Caesarian towns were in the southwestern quarter of the peninsula.

¹Mispoulet, *Le régime des mines*; Feliciani, *L'Espagne*; Fertig, *Land und Leute*.

²Trajan and Hadrian. For lists of famous men see Diercks, *Geschichte Spaniens*; Jung, *Romanische Landschaften*; Bouchier, *Spain under the Roman Empire*; Arnold, *Studies*.

greatness rested was the reorganization by Augustus and the efficient administration which he introduced into the peninsula.

Before Spain could be treated as a unit for administrative purposes, there remained one final step of pacification in the subjugation of the hardy mountaineers of the northwest.³ The campaign, although pressed with the utmost vigor by the most skillful of Rome's generals, covered a period of twelve years (28-16 B.C.). Even then success came as a result of extermination rather than through pacification. The establishment of three legions in the lowlands nearby served, however, to keep the survivors quiet, and allowed the more submissive tribes to cultivate their fields in peace. Meanwhile the work of reorganization had begun.

Although there is no definite statement by the authorities as to a general census of the Spanish people, it may safely be assumed that an enumeration of the inhabitants as a basis for taxation and military levies was made by Augustus soon after a similar task had been undertaken in the Gallic provinces.⁴ At the same time, under the direction of Agrippa, there was compiled a mass of geographical statistics which furnished the later writers on Spain practically all their information concerning roads, towns and natural features of the country.⁵ It was in this work of Agrippa that there appeared for the first time details of the tripartite division of the Spanish provinces. The inadvisability of continuing the old units of Hither and Farther Spain, even as military districts, had been recognized by Pompey; and the strategy of the Cantabrian war rendered desirable a division which would unite the northwest quarter of Spain under the control of a single authority. In this survey of Agrippa, Baetica included the territory bounded on the south by the Atlantic and the Mediterranean from the mouth of the river Anas to the southernmost point of the lands of the Contestani, a little below Carthago Nova. From that point the line ran to

³ Gardhausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, I, 691 ff.

⁴ Hirschfeld, *Klio*, VIII (1908), 464-476. See Ch. III, note 1. Arnold, *op. cit.*, 141.

⁵ Detlefsen, *Die Anordnung der Bücher des Plinius*, 12, note 1; cf. Braun, *Die Entwicklung der spanischen Provinzialgrenzen*, 8-81, 100 ff.

the northwest through the country of the Oretani until it reached the Anas at a point not far above Metellinum; thence generally along the Anas to the ocean. Lusitania included all the western part of the peninsula, its eastern boundary being the Anas up to the point where the Baetica line turned eastward. Thence the line ran to the north until it reached the Pyrenees.⁶ The combined area of these two divisions was not equal to that of the third. Equality in area, however, was not the aim of the administration. That other motives governed can be seen in the changes made by Augustus.⁷ For the boundaries of Lusitania were moved southward to the river Durius, thereby uniting in the larger Hispania Citerior the two most unsettled districts of the Cantabri and the Astures. Baetica was reduced by a shift in its northern boundary, which then reached the Mediterranean at a point between Murgi and Urci about seventy-five miles south of Carthago Nova.⁸

Almost three centuries passed before the tripartite division was changed. During that time Spain exerted its greatest influence on the Roman world. Differing widely as they did in natural resources, racial elements and degree of civilization, the three provinces received varying forms of administrative attention, and their contributions to Rome were correspondingly unlike. Still, it was the aim of the Roman government to obtain administrative uniformity throughout the peninsula. Accordingly, from the very beginning of this era, certain levelling tendencies were set in motion, and the forces and devices which made for unity were encouraged, improved and perfected.

The importance of Roman roads as the arteries along which were poured the forces of Roman civilization was in no place better exhibited than in Spain. Soldier, trader, priest and scholar used them in quick succession. At their intersections and terminals sprang up flourishing cities. They made for unity and uniformity as did perhaps no other single work of the

⁶ Braun, *op. cit.*, 80-81.

⁷ These changes are referred by Braun to 7 B.C. I prefer Wallrafen's date, 15 B.C. See above, p. 96.

⁸ See Map, I. A detailed account is given in note A, p. 117 ff.

Romans. In fact, the spread and permanence of Roman civilization may be followed by a study of the road-building activities and the subsequent establishment of Roman cities in the various parts of Spain. It was one of the most significant features of the administration of Augustus that his improvements and additions to the existing system of roads were so great.⁹

In the southern part of the peninsula Augustus did little save to connect the old military road along the coast from the Pyrenees to Carthago Nova with the Caesarian road from Gades to Corduba. By this extension, Baetica and Citerior were brought into closer touch, and a double exit was made for the mineral wealth of south central Spain. From Gades via Hispalis and from Corduba, roads ran northwards to Emerita, the great center of southwestern Spain. Still northwards from Emerita stretched two long highways, one to the northeast through Caesarobriga, Toletum, Segontia, Bilbilis to Caesaraugusta, the other due north through Salmantica to Astúrica. Two additional lines of communication were thus established between north and south. There remained for Augustus but one more pioneer task, the connection of Tarraco and the east with the remote northwest. This was accomplished by a road from Tarraco to Asturica, Lucus Augusti and Bracaraugusta. It is probable that Spain and Gaul were more firmly joined at this time by two roads over the Pyrenees, one from Pompaelo, the other from Caesaraugusta, to Burdigala.

PROVINCIAL SUBDIVISIONS

Two new subdivisions appeared for the first time in Spain as parts of the administrative system of Augustus. Of these the more perplexing, both with reference to its boundaries and to

⁹ Material for a study of Roman roads in Spain was collected by Hübner, in *CIL*, II, pp. 619 ff.; to this there have been numerous additions in *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vols. VIII and IX, and in many articles in the *Boletín de la real academia de la historia*. The itineraries of the later Empire should be consulted. The best secondary sources are the maps of ancient Spain, e.g. Kiepert's; Berger, *Ueber die Heerstrassen des römischen Reichs*; Jung, *Romanische Landschaften*, p. 44 f.; Arnold, *Studies of Roman Imperialism*, p. 143; Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, II, 17 f. See Map II.

the competence of its officials, was the diocese.¹⁰ Hispania Citerior was divided into three dioceses. One of these included the territory which formed the *conventus* Bracarum and Lucensis; the second contained the *conventus* Asturum and Cluniensis; and the third the *conventus* Caesaraugustanus, Tarraconensis and Carthaginiensis. The first was called Callaecia, the third Tarraconensis, the name of the second is unknown.

The term diocese had been applied to a Hellenistic division, and from the eastern predecessor it is probable that the subdivision in Hispania Citerior was derived. The chief official of each diocese was a *legatus Augusti*, an appointee of the *princeps*, although in his work subordinate to the provincial governor. The duties of the *legatus* were both military and administrative, at least in the two dioceses to the north. Strabo reported that the *legatus* of Callaecia held command of the two legions stationed in his diocese, and the *legatus* of the second diocese had one legion under him. In the inscriptions some of the *legati* are entitled *iuridici*, proving that juridical power was also theirs.

The three dioceses organized by Augustus were reduced to two in the principate of Claudius, the *conventus* Cluniensis being attached to the diocese Tarraconensis, and the *conventus* Asturum attached to the diocese Callaecia. Under the titles Asturia et Callaecia and Tarraconensis these two divisions remained unchanged to 214 A.D. At that date some reorganization was made, probably the transference of the western military post, Legio, to the jurisdiction of the eastern *legatus*. Finally, under Constantine or Diocletian, the diocese Asturia et Callaecia became a separate province.

Each province was subdivided into judicial districts called *conventus iuridici*. There were fourteen of these districts in the Three Spains, four in Baetica, three in Lusitania, and seven in Hispania Citerior. Roman law had been administered in the Republican period by the provincial governors and their assist-

¹⁰ For a discussion of the diocese see Kornemann, in Pauly-Wissowa, V, 716-721; and also "Die Dioezesen der Provinz Hispania Citerior," *Klio*, III, 323-325. Mispoulet, *Revue de Philologie*, XXXIV (1910), 309-328.

ants, generally during the months of winter when the troops were at rest. Under Augustus the time of the sessions was changed to the summer, the judicial centers were increased in number and made permanent, and the boundaries of their spheres of jurisdiction accurately defined. Although Hübner¹¹ divided the *conventus* Cordubensis into two parts, basing his division upon Pliny's account, it appears more reasonable to accept Detlefsen's¹² correction in punctuation, and to consider each district a compact geographical unit.

The generalization, commonly accepted, that the *conventus* were arranged in such a manner as to break up existing local groupings is only partly true.¹³ If it had been the intention to dissolve tribal organization by this system, the districts to which the divisive policy would have been applied were those of the northwest where tribal loyalty was most in evidence. But the *civitates* of the Varduli, Cantabri and others were united in the same judicial area. In one instance even provincial boundaries were set aside in order to allow the citizens of Baria¹⁴ to receive their justice from a conventual center in Baetica. Conventual organization in Spain appears to have acted as a unifying factor rather than as a divisive force.

On the other hand, it is true that a new form of loyalty was introduced through the conventual organization. The imperial cult appeared in conventual form in the northwest with the deities, Rome and Augustus, and the priests, entitled *sacerdotes*.¹⁵ This conventual cult did not become popular in the settled sections where there were numerous municipal cults, but the idea of

¹¹ CIL, II, p. 833 and map. Kiepert follows Detlefsen in his *Formae Orbis Antiqui*.

¹² *Philologus*, XXX, 276 f. He substitutes a full-stop for the comma in: *vergentis ad mare. Conventus vero Cordubensis . . .* (Pliny 3, 10).

¹³ It is true of Gaul where the tribal units were larger. In Spain each *conventus* contained at least one entire *natio*.

¹⁴ *Adscriptum Baeticae* (Pliny 3, 19). Cf. African towns Icosium and Zilis, similarly attached to Spanish conventual districts.

¹⁵ The *conventus* Asturum, Bracaraugustanus and Lucensis had *sacerdotes*. *Conventus* Carthaginensis had a *flamen*. For a discussion of the conventual cult see Cicotti, *I sacerdoti . . . della Spagna*, p. 44; Toutain, *Les cultes païens*, I, 99.

a territorial division midway between the urban and provincial units was used by the organizers of the early Christian Church.¹⁶

A third use of the *conventus* is indicated by the title *censitor conventus*.¹⁷ To judicial and religious officials was added an imperial tax-gatherer. Thus it was that the *conventus* gradually assumed an important position in the administrative organization of Spain and, as a result, men came to describe themselves as *ex conventu*.¹⁸

PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS

When Baetica became a senatorial province, it was, in theory, freed from imperial control, and its officials were responsible to the Senate. Long years of Roman occupation had made its inhabitants, even in the days of Cicero, more Roman than the Romans. No foreign enemies, at least for the next century, or rebellious subjects threatened to disturb its peace, no imperial troops were needed for its protection. The division of senatorial and imperial provinces, from which one might expect marked differences in administrative treatment, was to a great extent formal and theoretical, for, in addition to their great influence over the Senate, Augustus and the succeeding emperors were the real masters of the provincial governors sent out by that body. Thus, though the titles of the officials differ, the system of government was the same; the actual differences arising out of local conditions rather than from any division of governmental authority at Rome.

The chief officials of Baetica were a *proconsul* of praetorian rank, a *legatus proconsulis* and one *quaestor*. Its capital city, the residence of the governor, was Corduba. The province was

¹⁶ Hübner suggested in CIL, II, pp. 363, 419, that a final solution of the conventual boundaries question would be based on a study of the territorial units of the early Church. Jung repeated the suggestion (*Romanische Landschaften*, 10, note 2). Braun reserved the field for himself six years ago (*Die Entwicklung der spanischen Provinzialgrenzen*, 128). We await the result of this investigation.

¹⁷ CIL, VIII, 7070; cf. procurator c. Tarrac. CIL, II, 3840.

¹⁸ Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 8, note 2; Hübner, *Hermes*, I, 113 f. (reprinted in *Römische Heerschaft*); for a discussion of the *conventus* with references see Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 1173-78.

subdivided into four *conventus*, Hispalensis, Cordubensis, Astigitanus, and Gaditanus.

From an administrative point of view, Lusitania was the least important of the three Spanish provinces. It lacked the material wealth which made Baetica so valuable to Rome, and on the other hand there were within its borders no untamed tribes demanding a regular military establishment to keep them in order. The Augustan colony, Emerita, became the capital of the province and the residence of its governor, a *legatus Augusti*. This official held the proconsular *imperium* from the emperor and was assisted in matters of finance by procurators, generally men of equestrian rank. The three *conventus* of the province were Pacensis, Emeritensis, and Scallabitanus.

The province Hispania Citerior had an administrative organization suitable to the complexity offered by its size and local differences. At the head was placed a *legatus Augusti*, of consular rank, whose residence was Tarraco. This city had the double advantage over the old capital, Carthago Nova, of being nearer to Rome, and at the same time closer to the unsettled districts of the northwest. While the governor's authority extended over the whole province, his attention was, for the most part, given to the Mediterranean shore. Under him were the three subordinate *legati*, one of whom governed the district behind the eastern mountains from the Durus to the Baetis. A second, with one legion, ruled the northern districts from the Mediterranean to the territory of the Astures; while the third, with two legions, administered the extreme northwest. There were seven *conventus* in the Hither Province, Carthaginensis, Tarraconensis, Caesaraugustanus, Cluniensis, Asturum, Lucensis, and Bracarum.

MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION

The most important single document for the study of the municipal organization of the western provinces by Augustus is the *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny. In his account of Spain, Pliny combined personal experience, the work of earlier geogra-

phers and the official documents of Agrippa, Augustus and Vespasian. The record is by no means a complete one, nor is it free from error, but, corrected and supplemented by the epigraphical evidence contained in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and the various additions thereto, it offers material sufficient for a reconstruction of the administrative organization of Spain under Augustus.

The three provinces contained a total of 399 local administrative units: 26 of these were *coloniae*, 24 were *municipia civium Romanorum*, 48 were *oppida Latii veteris*, 6 were *oppida libera*, 4 were *oppida foederata*, and 291 were *stipendiaria*.¹⁹ The classification of these units with reference to their respective provinces is as follows:

	Lusitania	Baetica	Citerior
Coloniae	5	9	12
Mun. civ. Rom.....	1	10	13
Opp. iur. Lat.	3	27	18
Opp. libera	6
Opp foederata	3	1
Stipendiaria	36	120	135

*Lusitania*²⁰

Universa provincia dividitur in conventus tres, Emeritensem, Pacensem, Scalabitanum, tota populorum XLV, in quibus coloniae sunt quinque, municipium civium Romanorum, Latii antiqui III, stipendiaria XXXVI.—(Pliny 4, 117).

Pliny's description of Lusitania has been subjected to critical examination by Detlefsen and Wallrafen. The number and names of *coloniae* and *municipia*, as given by Pliny, have been confirmed by epigraphical evidence. Of the stipendiary towns, thirty-three were named by Pliny; the three additional towns necessary to complete the total, as suggested by Wallrafen, are Aritium, Caetobriga and Ammaia.

Aside from the striking difference in treatment between the northern and southern halves of the province, there is little

¹⁹ Reference should be made to the single example of *cives Romani qui negotiantur* at Bracaraugusta (CIL, II, 2433).

²⁰ See Map I.

worthy of comment in the administrative organization. This difference of treatment is but a reflection of the previous history of Lusitania, bounded on the south by a country of peaceful inhabitants, drilled in civilization; exposed on the north to the raids of wild tribesmen who neither taught civilization to their neighbors nor allowed them to practise any of its arts in peace. The different levels of Lusitanian life can best be exemplified by the Augustan foundations in the province. The one Lusitanian colony of Augustus, *Emerita Augusta*, was located in the south on the banks of the river *Anas*. To the natural advantages of location on a navigable stream, surrounded by fertile fields, Augustus added artificial aids to its growth by making it the terminus of a road from the south, and of two highways from the north. It was the capital of the province, and money was lavishly expended on its public buildings by *Agrippa*. It became, in fact, the imposing center of a highly civilized area. Far more humble was the lot of a town in central Lusitania which bore the name of the first *princeps*. *Augustobriga* was a tributary town on the *Tagus* river. It was apparently a new organization, a group of natives introduced for the first time to municipal institutions. There were no industries to foster its growth, no imperial patrons to encourage its development; it began and remained simply a way station on an imperial road. In the north a few tributary towns, chief among them *Ocelum* on the *Durius*, were recognized. But the old tribal units were used in this backward district.

*Baetica*²¹

Iuridici conventus ei IIII, *Gaditanus*, *Cordubensis*, *Astigitanus*, *Hispalensis*. *Oppida omnia numero CLXXV*, in iis *coloniae VIII*, *municipia e. R. X*, *Latio antiquitus donata XXVII*, *libertate VI*, *foedere III*, *stipendiaria CXX*.—(Pliny 3, 7).

Pliny's totals for the province of *Baetica* have been accepted by scholars without change,²² but his detailed account presents

²¹ See Map I.

²² Halgan, *Essai sur l'administration des provinces senatoriales sous l'empire romain*, pp. 51, 65, 80, 98, 121.

difficulties, some of which cannot be solved. Ten cities were given the rank of colony. Munda has been excluded because of the probability that it had lost its title in 45 B.C., and because Pliny himself practically admits that its colonial status was a thing of the past by his use of the perfect tense "fuit."²³ This excision would leave the nine colonies of the total given by Pliny.

The problem of identifying the *municipia* is more complex. There are but two of the *municipia civium Romanorum* expressly indicated by Pliny, Regina and Gades. Thirty other towns are named to which the status of *municipium* may be attributed. The use of a double name, one Latin and the other a local appellation, differentiates these towns from those of lower status. But it is almost impossible to tell which of them possessed full rights of citizenship and which held only the Latin right. A study of the arrangement in Pliny's account led Detlefsen to add three names to the list of Roman *municipia*,²⁴ which would give a total of five *municipia civium Romanorum* and 28 *municipia iuris Latini*, as opposed to the 10 *m.c.R.* and 27 *m.i.L.* of Pliny. Without any definite statement of status, or any corroborative evidence, this addition of Detlefsen cannot be taken as more than a possible conjecture. There are three communities, however, which may be included in the number of *municipia* on evidence which, in my opinion, outweighs the report of Pliny. Italia was a *municipium* in the Republican period and was made a colony by Hadrian. It also struck coins which are dated from 27 B.C. to 23 A.D. Carmo was a large and important town throughout the Republican period, its citizens were assigned to the tribe Galeria, its Latin coins indicate municipal status before, if not during the time of Augustus, its *pontifex sacrorum publicorum municipalium* was a municipal officer. Abdera struck two coins which date from the principates of Augustus and Tiberius. The first, with the inscription *Ti. Caesar Augusti F.*, is Augustan, and bears also the letters *D.D.*, which prove the existence of a municipal decurionate. The Tiberius coin does not bear the

²³ Pliny 3, 12: inter quae [colonias] fuit Munda.

²⁴ Segida, Ulia, Urgao (Philologus, XXX, 276).

D.D., but the very fact that a coin could be struck bearing the name of the town shows that it still retained its municipal status. The *flamen divi Augusti* and the *duovir* of the inscription also bear witness to the status of the town.²⁵

Of the six *oppida libera* given in Pliny's totals, but two are mentioned in the detailed account, Astigi Vetus and Ostippo. Singilia Barba may be added to the number because it appears to have retained a hint of its former status in the name adopted when Vespasian granted to it the Latin right, *Municipium Flavium Liberum*.²⁶ Cartima has been classed as a free town on account of an inscription which was set up in honor of a *decemvir*.²⁷ This title is also found in an inscription from Ostippo,²⁸ and is, in all probability, the regular magistracy of an *oppidum liberum*.

Only two *oppida foederata* are named, one being left unrecorded by Pliny. Detlefsen²⁹ has suggested Ripa, and Hübner³⁰ proposed Suel, but neither of these conjectures can be verified.

The colonies of Baetica were increased in number by three Augustan foundations.³¹ In seeking motives for their establishment in this pacified and thickly populated area, one must pass by the usual hypothesis of military or administrative necessity. The desire to foster economic growth may have guided the founder in the selection of sites, but the most pressing problem of Augustus was the discharge and settlement of his land-hungry veterans. Some of the older colonies of Baetica received groups of legionaries, and it was, no doubt, as veteran settlements that the new foundations were established. The *cognomina* Augusta Gemella, and Augusta Firma have a military flavor.

Of the *municipia*, Gades alone honored Augustus in its name.

²⁵ With one exception the municipal *flamines* of Spain were citizens of *municipia* or *coloniae*. But see Geiger, *De sacerdotibus Augustorum municipalibus*, 3-6.

²⁶ CIL, II, 2021, 2025.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1953.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 5048.

²⁹ *Philologus*, XXX, 271.

³⁰ CIL, II, p. 246.

³¹ Astigi, Tucci, and possibly Asido.

It is reported³² that Gades received municipal rights from Caesar in 45 B.C., but the cognomen Augustani is taken as a bit of contradictory evidence. May it not have come through the confirmation of Caesar's grant, or because of additional privileges (or settlers) under Augustus? The title *Parens* which is given to Agrippa, and the inscription *Providentiae Augustae* on coins show at least that the attentions of the *princeps* and his lieutenant were gratefully received.

In general, however, the southern section of Hispania Ulterior received from Augustus comparatively scant attention. The work of Caesar had been sufficiently thorough in the extension of political privileges to the urban communities; there were no townless areas necessitating special organization, or additional settlers; there were none to punish, none to reward. Baetica worked out its own salvation for almost a century unaided. The attention of Augustus, and of his successors, Julian and Flavian, was fixed upon that difficult problem, the incorporation and romanization of the new land in the northwest.

*Hispania Criterior*³³

. . . civitates provincia ipsa praeter contributas aliis CCXCIII continet, oppida CLXXVIII, in iis colonias XII, oppida civium Romanorum XIII, Latinorum veterum XVIII, foederatorum unum, stipendiaria CXXXV.—(Pliny, 3, 18.)

The detailed account of this province by Pliny gives eleven of the twelve colonies listed in the totals. Three towns have been proposed for the honor of twelfth place, of which Dertosa appears to have the best claims.³⁴

With reference to the *municipia*, both Roman and Latin, Pliny's sins are those of omission. Eleven names of *municipia civium Romanorum* are given out of a total of thirteen; sixteen *oppida Latinorum veterum*, of a total of eighteen. Detlefsen³⁵ would have us look to the northwest for the missing towns because the three *conventus* of that section have no towns of higher

³² Cic. *pro Balb.* 15, 34. Livy, 32, 2.

³³ See Map I.

³⁴ Pauly-Wissowa, V, 1, 247.

³⁵ *Philologus*, XXXII, 619-621.

status definitely assigned to them in Pliny's account. The chief argument against this view is that a special form of administration was given to this section of the province. Whether or not this argument may be forced to the extent of denying the existence of any municipal units, the fact remains that the establishment of Roman or Latin towns in this district is highly improbable. Bracara Augusta had a group of Roman citizens who possessed an independent organization; a proof that this was not a Roman *municipium*. Again, an official was said to have performed all the honors in his "*res publica*," a term which was not applied to towns which had been granted the Latin right. The only indication of higher status in any of these communities is the appellation *urbs* attributed to Asturica Augusta by Pliny. The evidence will support the conclusion that there were fifteen stipendiary units established by Augustus in this newly conquered territory, but it does not bear out Detlefsen's conjecture that towns of higher status were founded there by Augustus.³⁶

The effect of the reorganization upon the Hither Province was to emphasize the importance and to accelerate the development of the north. Augustus' choice of Tarraco as the provincial capital and the favors shown to the northern port meant the gradual decline of Carthago Nova. The foundations of Barcino, Caesaraugusta and Dertosa gave an impetus to the economic development of the Ebro valley, and the establishment of military camps in the northwest offered protection to those desiring to exploit the mineral wealth of that district. The three Augustan colonies in the south, Ilici, Libisosa and Salaria, were veteran settlements, as were the four colonies of the north. Viritane and group allotments were also made to veterans, and around the military camps there grew up settlements in which veterans undoubtedly resided.

NOTE A

The details of the final Augustan division are as follows. The boundaries of the province of Baetica, beginning at the south-

³⁶ See Chap. V.

west corner, included the town of Murgi.³⁷ Epigraphical evidence has helped to fix the location of this town close by the sea in the modern Campo de Dalias.³⁸ The exact line between Baetica and the nearer province lay between Murgi of the former and Urci of the latter.³⁹ Following possibly the course of some intervening stream, the boundary reached the watershed of Mons Solonius,⁴⁰ keeping to that natural line up to the point where it sinks into the valley south and east of Granada. There the line turned northward, passing to the east of Illiberi.⁴¹ The next point which may with certainty be attributed to the territory of Baetica is Tucci.⁴² With equal certainty, Mentesa⁴³ lies within Hispania Citerior. The natural boundary between these two would be the Guadalbullon,⁴⁴ a tributary of the Baetis. Following along this stream the provincial line would reach and include Ossigi,⁴⁵ at which point the river Baetis first enters the province to which it has given its name. Such a line would place the *municipium* Aurgi⁴⁶ within Baetica.

After crossing the Baetis the boundary can be described only in the most general terms. It is known that Sisapo⁴⁷ was in Baetica, that Oretum⁴⁸ was in Citerior. Somewhere between these towns, through the Saltus Castulonensis⁴⁹ and along the ridges of the Sierra Morena, the Roman surveyors marked the line, bearing away to the northwest until they reached the cleft through which the Anas pours its waters to the south. This was the meeting-point of the three provinces. From the southeast came the line between Baetica and Citerior. Northward along

³⁷ Pliny 3, 8; cf. 3, 17.

³⁸ CIL, II, 5489.

³⁹ Pliny 3, 6.

⁴⁰ Pliny, 3, 6.

⁴¹ Pliny 3, 10. Ptol. 2, 4, 9.

⁴² Pliny 3, 12. CIL, II, p. 221.

⁴³ CIL, II, p. 234.

⁴⁴ Braun, *Die Entwicklung der spanischen Provinzialgrenzen*, 113.

⁴⁵ CIL, II, p. 293.

⁴⁶ Pliny 3, 9. CIL, II, p. 293.

⁴⁷ Pliny 3, 14.

⁴⁸ Pliny 3, 25.

⁴⁹ Braun, *op. cit.*, 93, 107, 113 f.

the Anas ran the boundary between Citerior and Lusitania. To the west and south, following the valley of the Anas, stretched the line between Baetica and Lusitania.

The Anas is given both by Pliny⁵⁰ and by Ptolemaeus⁵¹ as the northern and western boundary of Baetica. But the statement is true only in a loose and general sense. In no part of its course did the line cross the river to its right, or western bank, for the towns along that bank, Lacimurga,⁵² Metellinum,⁵³ Emerita Augusta,⁵⁴ Myrtilis,⁵⁵ and Aesuris,⁵⁶ are all assigned to Lusitania. That the boundary did leave the river line on the left side is evident from the fact that some of the territory of Emerita Augusta was to be found across the river.⁵⁷ Serpa,⁵⁸ a town of Lusitania, is also on the left bank, and Fines,⁵⁹ which was evidently a border station between the two provinces, lay thirteen miles east of Serpa.

The dividing line between Lusitania and Citerior passed through a mountainous and sparsely settled country. After leaving the Anas where that river turned sharply to the southeast, the boundary continued northward, passing between Caesarobriga⁶⁰ and Toletum.⁶¹ Libora is mentioned by Ptolemaeus⁶² as a town on the Tagus below, that is, west of Toletum, still in Citerior. The exact site of Libora is still in dispute, although its direction from Toletum is accepted by authorities. The result is that the boundary must have crossed the Tagus nearer Caesarobriga than Toletum. Thence the line ran be-

⁵⁰ Pliny 3, 7; cf. 3, 17.

⁵¹ Ptol. 2, 5, 1.

⁵² Pliny 3, 13. Ptol. 2, 5, 7.

⁵³ Pliny 4, 117. Ptol. 2, 5, 6.

⁵⁴ Pliny 4, 117. Ptol. 2, 5, 6.

⁵⁵ Pliny 4, 117. Ptol. 2, 5, 6.

⁵⁶ CIL, II, p. 786.

⁵⁷ Frontinus, *de controu. agror.* 1, 51 (ed. Lachmann).

⁵⁸ Braun, *op. cit.*, 119 ff.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Pliny 4, 118.

⁶¹ Ptol. 2, 6, 56.

⁶² Ptol. 2, 6, 56. Braun, *op. cit.*, 116-117.

tween the Vaccaei⁶³ of Citerior and the Vettones of Lusitania. Avela,⁶⁴ about fifty miles north of Caesarobriga, according to Pliny's account, lay in Citerior, although it was placed in Lusitania by Ptolemaeus.⁶⁵ Thus far the direction was almost due north, but by a shift to the north-northwest the boundary reached the Durius at a point just below Arbocala. Kiepert,⁶⁶ following Ptolemaeus, does not join the line to the Durius until Ocelodunum is passed, but I prefer the interpretation of Braun,⁶⁷ who defends Pliny and places Ocelum in Lusitania. From some point slightly below Arbocala the boundary followed the Durius to the sea.

V. NON-URBAN UNITS

One of the most interesting and at the same time one of the most intricate problems solved by the Roman government in Spain was the administration of the half-civilized districts of the interior. When the Romans first entered the Iberian peninsula, they had to deal not only with city-states, but also with tribal groups and with smaller units which had asserted their independence of a central tribal authority without assuming the organization of a city-state. The larger groups were ethnic kingdoms possessing a dangerous unity in time of war, and for that reason were invariably broken up by the Romans as soon as they were conquered. It was the custom of historians and other writers of antiquity to describe these ethnic groups, such as the Lusitani and Celtiberi, by the word *gentes*. But each group was actually a number of *gentes*. Thus, for example, the Lusitani consisted of Elbocori, Turduli Veteres, Paesures, and others. If external influences had not altered the political development of Spain, it may be assumed that the larger units would have gradually overshadowed the original constituent

⁶³ Braun, *op. cit.*, 67, 94 ff.

⁶⁴ Pliny 3, 19.

⁶⁵ Ptol. 2, 5, 7.

⁶⁶ *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, XXVII.

⁶⁷ Braun, *op. cit.*, 117 f.

elements and in the end would have become united under a few leaders, perhaps a single one. Such was the growth of Spain after the expulsion of the Moors, and such was the development of England from 449 to 828. But the processes were reversed in the Iberian peninsula by the introduction of the city-state principle. The tribal units of Baetica had been disintegrated by the driving attacks of the Barcids and by the no less potent influence of the Phoenician and Greek independent settlements. The separate *gentes* asserted themselves as the true political units; some centering about a citadel and taking up the forms of city-state organization, while others retained their pastoral or agricultural status. This independent spirit in the smaller units was found not only in Baetica and southern Lusitania but also along the Mediterranean littoral. Rome found in Saguntum an independent city-state with which she could make a treaty by 225 B.C. and the *gentes* of the northeast were small units. Only in the interior did the tribal kings maintain their authority.

The conquering Romans for the most part recognized these kings and their political authority only as long as they were successful belligerents. For purposes of administrative organization they dealt directly with the constituent *gentes*. Whenever the circumstances permitted, municipal units were formed, but many of the *stipendiaria* still retained their gentile character. Schulten¹ makes the distinction between urban and non-urban units that the former were given names ending in *-enses*, the latter names ending in *-tani*. In Lusitania only three units thus denote their non-urban organization, the Aranditani, Cibilitani and Igaeditani. But Hispania Citerior contains fifteen names of this sort, all of them with the rank of *stipendiaria*.

Another group of non-urban units in Lusitania and Hispania Citerior are designated by a nominative plural ending in *-i*. There are six of these names in Pliny's account of Lusitania, classed as *stipendiaria*.²

It is evident that neither the ending *-tani* nor *-i* indicates ad-

¹ *Rhein. Mus.*, L, 508.

² Colarni, Elbocori, Paesuri, Tapori, Turduli veteres, Barduli.

ministrative units which were even lower in status than the *stipendiaria*. But in Pliny's description of Hispania Citerior, there were 114 *civitates* of precisely this character.³ All indications point to their location in the *conventus* of northwestern Spain. There the opportunities for the assertion of local independence were meager, tribal organization was strongest, and the need of a different form of organization by the Romans imperative. The organization of this district has been discussed by Detlefsen in an article on the Hither Province⁴ and by Hübner in the *Corpus*.⁵ Their results have been criticized by Schulten in a special study of the peregrine communities of the Roman Empire.⁶ The conclusions of Schulten have been followed with but few changes.

The main problems are those of terminology, for not only does Pliny, the chief source, contradict himself, but he also differs from the usage of the inscriptions. Pliny describes one of these *conventus* as follows:

In Cluniensem conventum Varduli ducunt populos XIII, ex quibus Alabanenses tantum nominare libeat, Turmogidi III, in quibus Segisamonenses et Segisamaiulienses. In eundem conventum Carietes et Venenses V civitatibus vadunt, quarum sunt Velienses. Eodem Pelendones Celtiberum IIII populis, quorum Numantini fuere clari, sicut in Vaccaeorum XVII civitatibus Intercatienses, Palantini, Lacobrigenses, Caucenses. Nam in Cantabris VII populis Iuliobriga sola memoratur, in Autrigonum X civitatibus Tritium et Virovesca. Arevacis nomen dedit flumen Areva. Horum VI oppida, Secontia et Uxama, quae nomina crebro aliis in locis usurpantur, praeterea Segovia et Nova Augusta, Termes ipsaque Clunia Celtiberiae finis. Ad oceanum reliqua vergunt Vardulique ex praedictis et Cantabri. (Pliny 3, 26.)

If the contents of this quotation be analyzed and the territorial units classified in the order of their size (or, better, of their inclusiveness), it will be found that, after the *conventus* itself, the largest units are represented by the names Varduli,

³ 293 *civitates* less 179 urban units leaves 114 non-urban units.

⁴ *Philologus*, XXXII, 603-614, 659-668.

⁵ CIL, II. See the introductory remarks to each *conventus*.

⁶ *Rhein. Mus.*, L, 495 ff.

Turmogidi, Carietes et Vennenses, Pelendones Celtiberum, Vaccaei, Cantabri, Autrigones, Arevaci. These larger units contain smaller divisions which are called *populi* (Alabanenses, etc.), *civitates* (Velienses, etc.) and *oppida* (Secontia, etc.). Judged by the standards of usage in his preceding descriptions, Pliny employed the terms Varduli, Turmogidi, etc., here simply as "historical reminiscences." That is to say, we would conclude that these larger units had no political status, and that the terms were merely descriptive with a purely geographical significance. It would then follow that the *populi* and *civitates* were municipalized *gentes*. But we learn from inscriptions that Varduli retained a political and administrative meaning, for an official was appointed for taking the census of the *civitates* of the Vascones and Varduli.⁷ Military diplomas also record *alae* and *cohortes* of the Varduli, Cantabri and Carietes.⁸ The best proof of the continued status of these larger units lies in the use of their names to designate the *origo* of individuals.⁹ A natural conclusion, based on this evidence, is that the larger units are *gentes* and the smaller *populi* are divisions of *gentes*. Satisfactory as this conclusion may appear, it does not agree with all the facts as we know them. The fundamental objection voiced by Schulten is that divisions of *gentes*, for example *pagi*, are not and cannot be independent of the *gens* of which they are a part. But there are proofs of the independence of some of these *populi*.¹⁰ Therefore Schulten asserts that the larger units of the four *conventus* were *nationes*, or groups of *gentes*; that the *populi* and *civitates* were *gentes*; and that the *oppida* of these *conventus* were not true *oppida* but *castella*, which possessed no legal status. Before discussing his reasons for presenting this hypothesis I shall add the other sections of Pliny relating to the northwestern district.

⁷ CIL, VI, 1463.

⁸ A partial list of *alae* and *cohortes* is given by Detlefsen, *Philologus*, XXXII, 660 ff. Cf. Wilmanns, 1520; Orelli-Henzen, III, 3900, 5433, 5442. Indices, pp. 137-138.

⁹ CIL, II, 4233, 4240, 4192, 4191, 3061, 6093.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 760, 2633.

Iunguntur iis Asturum XXII populi divisi in Augustanos et Transmontanos, Asturica urbe magnifica. In his sunt Gigurri, Pesici, Lancienses, Zoelae. Numerus omnis multitudinis ad CCXL liberorum capitum. Lucensis conventus populorum est sedecim, praeter Celticos et Lemavos ignobilium ac barbarae appellationis, sed liberorum capitum ferme CLXVI. Simili modo Bracarum XXIII civitates CCLXXXV capitum, ex quibus praeter ipsos Bracaros, Biballi, Coelerni, Callaeci, Equaesii, Limici, Querquerni citra fastidium nominentur. (Pliny 3, 28.)

A Pyrenaeo per oceanum Vasconum saltus, Olarso, Vardulorum oppida, Morogi, Monosca, Vesperies, Amanum portus, ubi nunc Flaviobrica colonia; Civitatum novem regio Cantabrorum, flumen Sauga, portus Victoriae Iuliobricensium, ab eo loco fontes Hiberi XL p. portus Blendium. Orgenomesci e Cantabris. Portus eorum Vereasueca. Regio Asturum, Noega oppidum, in paeninsula Pesici, et deinde conventus Lucensis, a flumine Navialbione Cibarci, Egi, Varri cognomine Namarini, Iadovi, Arroni, Arrotrebae. Promuntorium Celticum, amnes Florius, Nelo. Celtici cognomine Neri et Supertamarei, quorum in paeninsula tres arae Sestianae Augusto dicatae, Copori, oppidum Noeta, Celtici cognomine Praestamarei, Cileni. . . . A Cilenis conventus Bracarum, Helleni, Grovi, castellum Tyde, Graecorum subolis omnia. Insulae Siccae, oppidum Abobrica. Minius amnis IIII ore spatiosus, Leuni, Seurbi, Bracarum oppidum Augusta, quos super Gallaecia. Flumen Limia. Durius amnis ex maximis Hispaniae, ortus in Pelendonibus et iuxta Numantiam lapsus, dein per Arevacos Vaccaeosque disternatis ab Asturia Vettonibus, a Lusitania Gallaecis, ibi quoque Turdulos a Bracaris arcens. (Pliny 4, 110.)

In the three *conventus* thus described there were four larger units containing *populi*, *civitates* and *oppida*, the Astures Augustani, Astures Transmontani, Bracares and Lucenses. The proof that these four groups and the nine similar groups of the *conventus* Cluniensis were used as political units by Augustus and were not merely geographical terms is found, as I have said, in the inscriptions, particularly in the epigraphic use of these names to designate the *origo* of individuals. It is true that the form used is generally *ex gente* (*Cantabro*). But the term *gens* is also applied in an official document¹¹ to the Zoelae, one of the *populi* of the Astures. Either this use of the term *gens* is incorrect, or the use of the term by the Cantabrian *cives*, for the two units were evidently not considered equal in the Roman scheme of administration. Fortunately there is a test which may be applied to determine the validity of the terminology. A *gens*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2633.

cannot be divided into non-urban units which are independent politically of the *gens*.¹² The only method of achieving local independence under the Roman system was by incorporation on a municipal basis. But there are proofs of independent action on the part of the units described by Pliny as *populi* which had no such municipal basis. This action can be explained only on the hypothesis that the larger units were *nationes* and the smaller ones *gentes*.

Populi and *civitates* are interchangeable terms. Most of these *populi* bear names which indicate complete absence of any municipal characteristics, for example, Orgenomesci, Gigurri, Pesici, and Zoelae. Still other have names such as are commonly applied to communities known in the province of Africa as *res publicae*.¹³ A *res publica* had many of the forms of an *oppidum stipendiarium* without its status, possessed an *ordo*, *territorium*, *magistri*, and its inhabitants were wont to style themselves *cives*, although they were de jure only *incolae*. Up to this point the contention of Schulten that these *populi-civitates* were *gentes* holds without question, but there are listed among these *populi* certain names, e.g. Iuliobriga, Secontia, Uxama, which look like town-names, and which are called *oppida*. If *populus* and *oppidum* are synonymous, then *populus* cannot equal *gens*. By way of reply to this objection, Schulten demonstrates, using epigraphic evidence, that the *oppida* were de jure *castella*.¹⁴ As a partial excuse for the technical error of Pliny, he suggests that these communities were larger than the average *castellum*, approaching the dignity of a true *oppidum* in size at least. He also ventures the conjecture that these *castella* were centers of former *gentes*. This conjecture, if accepted, would fill out the series of steps through which each unit of these north-western *conventus* would have to go in order to reach, let us say, the dignity of a *municipium*. The progress of any of these groups may be traced as follows. At the entry of the Augustan

¹² Schulten, *Rhein. Mus.*, L, 496.

¹³ *Ibid.*, under "Africa."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

troops the Lancienses were a gentile group of the *natio Asturum*. After the conquest they were still considered as a part of the Astures for purposes of military levies, census, etc. They had reached such a state of political development before the conquest,¹⁵ however, that instead of remaining a simple *gens*, they were advanced one step and were allowed to call themselves a *res publica*.¹⁶ The *res publica* became more and more urban in character until it reached the rank of *stipendiarium*. The status of *municipium*, one step beyond, was reached before the time of Trajan.¹⁷

Although agreeing in general with the solution of the Plinian puzzle by Schulten, I differ with him in one point. Induced, perhaps by a desire for uniformity, Schulten denies political status to any urban district in the four *conventus* of northwestern Spain, with the exception of Asturica. There are arguments both general and specific which may be cited in contradiction of so sweeping a generalization.

It is a common and unchallenged tribute to Augustus to say that he sought to Romanize the provincials by municipalization. It is true that in Gaul and in Africa the existing political organization was left practically untouched. But even in these cases some exceptions were made, and Roman municipal organizations were established in the midst of tribal groups. The advisability of inaugurating, at least, a municipal system in northwestern Spain was most obvious, for until the district was truly pacified one-eighth of the Roman army had to be stationed there. Still Schulten asserts that the country was left without a single municipal organization after which the tribal communities might pattern.

It will be noted, too, that in order to retain his uniformity theory Schulten has to reject Pliny's use of the word *oppidum* in its usual sense of an independent municipal unit, and forces the *oppida* into the class of *castella* or *vici*. There is, in my

¹⁵ Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies*, 252.

¹⁶ CIL, II, 4223.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 760.

opinion, a real and intended antithesis in the phrases of Pliny, "*castellum Tyde . . . oppidum Abobrica.*" The antithesis was not based on size, or on relative importance. It simply records the status of the two communities.

If it is accepted as probable that Augustus made some beginnings in the municipalization of this district, and that Pliny used the term *oppidum* to denote these municipal beginnings, an examination of the units thus described by Pliny tends to strengthen the argument from probability. In addition to the six *oppida* of the *Arevaci*, eight other *oppida* are mentioned, to which may be added "*Asturica urbs magnifica.*" The territory of the *Arevaci*, situated at the southeastern corner of this backward district, was the most obvious place for municipal beginnings. If the work was to be done gradually this was the proper place for a beginning. The other *oppida* were situated on or near the seacoast, and formed an encircling band of civilization around the backward district.

The acceptance of these fifteen units as urban communities of at least stipendiary rank removes a difficulty connected with the totals of Pliny. Schulten points out that there were 129 *civitates* ascribed by Pliny to the four *conventus*. Out of these must come the 114 non-urban units. If we accept the dictum that the 129 were all non-urban, it is impossible to explain the discrepancy. But if the 15 *oppida* (14 *oppida* and 1 *urbs*) be considered as municipalized units, Pliny's total of 129 *civitates* minus 15 urban units will give the required 114 non-urban units.

VI. THE MUNICIPAL IMPERIAL CULT

The inception and growth of the imperial cult in the Roman Empire have been treated by scholars with varying degrees of interest. But even those who have given the subject their most careful attention have reached conclusions which are, to say the least, uncomplimentary to the founders of the cult. We are asked to believe that the institution was accidental and incidental, the voluntary expression of a contented people, without the control

or assistance of those it most benefitted; or we are told that a loathsome custom of the effete Orient was transplanted by a calculating *princeps* to the vigorous Occident, and there forced down the throats of an unwilling people. The evidence which comes from the Iberian peninsula does not support either of these conclusions. It appears rather to sustain the belief that the natural and wholesome feeling of relief of the Roman world when the *Pax Romana* was assured was skillfully crystallized by Augustus into an abiding institution.

The reason for reviewing the subject of the imperial cult in the Spanish municipalities is not for the introduction of new evidence, but to obtain a better understanding of the relationship of the cult to general administrative policy. It has been the custom to regard it as an institution apart from the real life of the people, and the governmental policies of the rulers. Fiske¹ has found some antecedents in Roman customs as well as the Graeco-Oriental ingredients; Kornemann² has considered the cult as an agent for the advancement of Roman *Kultur*; Hirschfeld³ has noted the deep-seatedness of the cult in that its forms were transferred almost intact to the Christian Church. None of these facts can be explained as the result of the adoption of an Oriental fad, or as the product of a cult introduced by a hypocritical despot.

While Augustus was slowly recovering from an illness brought on by the hardships of the Cantabrian campaign, he received in Tarraco an embassy from the people of Mytilene announcing the formal deification of Augustus by that city in the customary Hellenistic fashion.⁴ The pleasant reception offered that embassy did not escape the notice of the local dignitaries, and they hastened to emulate their eastern fellow-subjects by the erection of an altar to Augustus in their own city. The example set by Tarraco was followed by many other municipalities of

¹ G. C. Fiske, *Notes on the worship of the Roman Emperors in Spain*, J., 101 ff.

² Kornemann, *Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte*, p. 51 ff.

³ Hirschfeld, *Zur Geschichte des römischen Kaisercultus*, p. 833 ff.

⁴ Heinen, *Klio*, XI, 151, note 4.

Spain and the imperial cult had been thoroughly and firmly established before the death of Augustus in 14 A.D. This date is important in the history of the municipal cult in that the name Augustus then designated the second *princeps*. For, through deification by the Senate of Rome, the first *princeps* became *divus*, while the title of Augustus was conferred upon his successor. Thus two courses were open to the devotees of the imperial cult. Sacrifices could be continued to the first *princeps* under the name *divus Augustus*, or the living *princeps* could be revered as Ti. Caesar Augustus, or simply Augustus. (The two might be combined in a cult *divo et Augusto*, but we have no evidence of such a combination). A third and final step was taken when two *principes*⁵ had been officially deified in 54 A.D. Cults of the *divi* were organized, and in some instances the living Augustus was included as a member of the divine group. The increasing number of forms which the imperial cult might assume is indicated in the following table:

27 B.C.-14A.D.	14-54 A.D.	54- A.D.
Augusto	divo Augusto	divo Augusto
	Augusto (= Tiberio)	divo Claudio
	[Divo et Aug.]*	[divis Augustis]*
		[Augusto (Neroni)]*
		[divis et Aug.]*

* No evidence of these cults is found in Spain.

A closer study of the municipal cults adds many details to the generalizations of this table. These details will be presented in chronological order, a method of presentation which will exclude many undated and undateable pieces of evidence, but which increases the probabilities of the conclusions based on the material presented. A superficial glance at the data of the municipal imperial cults leads one directly to the conclusion that there was neither rhyme nor reason to the institution. Indeed one doubts whether such a bundle of confusion may justly be called an institution. Even a careful collection, assortment and scrutiny of details has brought Toutain to a position, a state-

⁵ Augustus and Claudius.

ment of which requires a number of negatives.⁶ The writer must confess to a theory. He is not convinced by the brilliant negatives of Toutain; he believes that the cult was not a haphazard growth without guidance, but that it possessed both rhyme and reason.

The imperial municipal cult in Spain under Augustus had the following features: first, an altar dedicated to Rome and Augustus, and second, a priest, whose title was *flamen Romae et Augusti*. The assumption that this form of the cult was the only one to be found during the lifetime of Augustus is based on the evidence collected by Kornemann.⁷ The cult with its priestly titular continued without change in many cases through the centuries, but the date of foundation was before 14 A.D. in every case. There are other proofs of the reverence paid to Augustus during his lifetime,⁸ but the only evidence admitted here will be inscriptions containing the names of municipal priests and coins which indicate by representations of altar or temple the existence of a cult in the towns whose names they bear.

In addition to the first cult-foundation of Tarraco, Barcino, Castulo, Complutum, Pollentia, Saetabis, and Valeria had *flamines Romae et Augusti*.⁹ To the principate of Tiberius must be assigned the foundation of a new form of the cult, that of Rome and the deified Augustus, at Clunia.¹⁰ A ritual was also established at Olisipo in honor of Iulia Augusta, the mother of Tiberius, and another in honor of Germanicus Caesar.¹¹ Tiberius himself received cult honors from the citizens of Pax Iulia.¹² The presiding priest was in each case a *flamen*. But a new title,

⁶ Toutain, *Les cultes païens*, pp. 96, 101, 113, 152, 167. May not variety and freedom in nomenclature be admitted without receding from the position that the *principes* were vitally interested in the imperial cult? Rome's particularistic treatment of the Italian towns is never cited as proof of her indifference. Quite the contrary.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁸ CIL, II, 2106, 2703, 3524, 5182; *Ephem. Epigr.*, VIII, 280.

⁹ Tarraco, CIL, II, 4224, 6097; Barcino, 4516, 6147, 4520; Castulo, 3276; Complutum, 3033; Pollentia, 3696; Saetabis, 3623; Valeria, 3179.

¹⁰ CIL, II, 2782.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 194.

¹² *Ibid.*, 49.

pontufex (sic), is given to a contemporary cult of the Caesars at Anticaria.¹³ The Caesars of this cult were undoubtedly Germanicus and Drusus. The four years of Caligula are represented by establishments at Ulia and Carma in honor of the deified Augustus, and to a foundation at Mentesa in honor of Caligula's mother.¹⁴ *Flamen* is still the title given to the priest. No inscriptions of new cult officials can be definitely assigned to the principate of Claudius, but a *flamen divi Claudii* of Tarraco, and the *sodales Claudiani* of Cabeza del Griego¹⁵ should be placed in time near the date of his death, 54 A.D. Fiske says of the first inscription, "It is, of course, later than 54 A.D."¹⁶ But from what we know of Claudius' policy in Britain,¹⁷ it is possible to believe that this cult may have antedated the death of the *princeps*. In favor of this view it may be noted that Tarraco was the religious center not only of Hispania Citerior, but of the whole peninsula, hence the most fitting place for official innovations. The failure of scholars to find any trace of change or addition to the municipal cults of Spain during the principate of Nero gives in addition an argument from silence. For it is not to be supposed that Nero should add to the glory of a predecessor without seeking a share himself.¹⁸

Before undertaking a summary of Flavian activity in cult foundations, some notes on the Julian period should be added. In the first place, it should be remembered that in 15 A.D. the provincial cult was established in Hispania Citerior, with its chief official a *flamen Augustalis* (= *flamen divi Augusti*) *provinciae*, and its center adorned with a temple.¹⁹ Similar cults were established in Lusitania and Baetica, in all probability,

¹³ *Ibid.*, 2038.

¹⁴ Ulia, CIL, II, 1534; Carma, 5120; Mentesa, 3379.

¹⁵ Tarraco, CIL, II, 3114; Cabeza del G., 5879.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

¹⁷ Kornemann, *Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte*, pp. 103-104.

¹⁸ Monuments to Nero may have been destroyed as a result of his failure to obtain official apotheosis, or by the soldiers of Galba before official action had been taken.

¹⁹ Kornemann, *op. cit.*, p. 65, note 2. Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies*, p. 124; Heinen, *Klio*, XI, 139 ff.

during the principate of Tiberius.²⁰ Another phase of imperial cult development to be noted is the foundation of the conventual cults.²¹ These were certainly not a product of local initiative. Three of them were placed in districts where few municipalities existed. Their function was educational in that they presented a concrete illustration of the principles underlying the new monarchy. A third subject of importance is the office of *flaminica*. Toutain has proved that the title was not conferred *ex officio* upon the wives of the *flamines*.²² If, then, they were chosen as priestesses of cults, why were they chosen instead of men? The answer is²³ that they were elected to preside over the temples or altars of the deified women of the Caesars. The date of the first *flaminica* is then to be placed after the formal apotheosis of Livia, the first *diva*, in 42 A.D.²⁴ In conclusion it should be noted that the only titles for this period of the official municipal cults were *flamines* and *flaminicae*. The use of *sacerdos* and *pontifex* in official cults of the municipalities is of later origin.²⁵

The new foundations which can be assigned to the Flavian period are few and, in general, merely witnesses of the growth of the official pantheon. *Flamines divi Vespasiani, divi Titi* and *divi Traiani* in Tarraco have left records to prove that in the capital of the Hither Province each new *divus* was honored by an individual cult. An inscription of Ipsca records the dedication of a building, perhaps a temple, to Vespasian, the donor and dedicator being entitled *pontifex designatus*. The paucity of new cults does not necessarily indicate any diminution in strength or popularity of the imperial cult as an institution. A reduplication of priesthoods would have been a useless expense to the municipalities, for the cults of Rome and Augustus transferred

²⁰ Kornemann, *op. cit.*, 122 f.

²¹ Ciccotti, *I sacerdoti*, 44 f.; Kornemann, *op. cit.*, 119 f.

²² *Ibid.*, 167.

²³ *Ibid.*, 112.

²⁴ An unofficial cult of Livia as Iulia Augusta was established in Olisipo before her apotheosis (CIL, II, 194).

²⁵ *Sacerdos* was the title of the priests of the conventual cult in the northwest. There was also a *pontifex* [*sic*] *Caesarum*, but the *Caesares* were not fully accredited *divi*. Hence this cult was not official.

their allegiance from one living ruler to the next. The *divi* were not completely forgotten, however. Their names remained in the oath of allegiance,²⁶ and the records of their work in roads and buildings served as reminders of their former greatness. In order to make the remembrance of the *divi* more lasting, to incorporate it in the cult ritual, Hadrian introduced the last important innovation in the nomenclature and organization of the imperial cult. During this emperor's visit to Tarraco in the winter of 122-123 A.D. he rebuilt the temple of Rome and Augustus, and re-established the old cult on a new basis.²⁷ The priests were from that time on to pay honor to Rome and the *divi*. A pantheon was thereby formed which would continue to increase with the deification of each Augustus. This change in the provincial cult was copied by many municipalities, and a number of inscriptions indicate the spread of the new idea and its slightly varying forms.²⁸

The evidence of the preceding pages comprises the data upon which the traditional interpretations of the municipal cult are based. That which follows contains the arguments in favor of a new interpretation. Stated in thesis form, that interpretation is: first, that the imperial cult was the expression of an emotion sincere in all its aspects; second, that the organization and the institutionalizing of that emotion were undertaken with equal sincerity by Augustus and his successors in the principate; third, that this institution was an important feature of the general administrative policy of the Early Empire as was, for example, the introduction of Roman Law.

There are certain primary objections to this theory, objections which spring from a prejudice insidious and most difficult to eradicate, namely, the unconscious interpretation of ancient terms by modern ideas. If the meanings current at the beginning of the Christian era, be given to the terms *deus*, *divus*, *apotheosis*, *Augustus*, etc., the charge of hypocrisy so often

²⁶ CIL, II, 172. Cf. the oath of the *Lex Malacitana*.

²⁷ W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaiser Hadrianus*, p. 115 ff. Kornemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.

²⁸ Kornemann, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

levelled at the participants in the so-called "worship" of human beings is left without support. After 1600 years of monotheism the word *deus* connotes omnipotence, omniscience. It had no such significance to the people of the Roman world in 27 B.C. It is true that hints of an all-powerful being or force, superior to all the gods, were in the air.²⁹ The Stoic philosophers were seeking to raise Iupiter-Zeus to that high position, but to the vast majority, Zeus, Hera and the other immortals were merely supermen and superwomen. There was no impassable gulf between *deus* and *homo*. If a *deus* (*θεός*) could enter an Oriental court in the form of a king, and dwell on earth as long as life remained in that king's body, the Occidental could also bridge the gap by the apotheosis of any man who proved himself far superior to the average human being. To the Greek the individual thus elevated became *Σωτήρ* but the Roman distinguished between the gods of his ancestors and those *homines* who obtained divine honors because of their *res gestae*. The latter he termed *divi*, and indicated the potential divinity in candidates for that honor by the title *Augustus*. If, "drunk with sight of power," these men abused their privileged positions, future generations refused to recognize them as divine. But if they had been faithful in the performance of their tasks, they might repeat with all sincerity the words of Vespasian "Puto deus fio."³⁰

The evidence in favor of the view that the imperial cult was foisted upon the Roman West and did not spring from the hearts of the people there, is of three kinds. The first is that of our own senses. We cannot imagine a civilized man worshipping another man as a god. The answer is that the Roman idea of god and ours are radically different. In the second place, the Ides of March are cited as proof of the Occidental abhorrence of a god-king. It has been stated that the tragedy of the Ides of March was a protest against the Oriental program of Julius Caesar. That program was a varied one, containing a campaign against the Parthians, world-empire, the establishment of a

²⁹ Warde-Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*.

³⁰ Sueton. *Vespas.* 24.

dynastic monarchy, universal citizenship, and the deification of the living ruler. It is enlightening to learn just who were the Protestants and to what extent their protest was successful. There were many senators in the conspiracy, representing ostensibly a large proportion of the Roman public. Did this public include the Roman populace? No. Did it include the people of Italy? Not to the extent of active participation in the war which followed. Did it include any or all of the western provinces? If it did, they gave no sign. The leaders of this anti-Oriental group, strangely enough, were supported by the legions of the east and by money wrung from Greeks and Asiatics, the last people in the world to protest against an Oriental program. As a matter of fact, the conspirators were encouraged by the dwindling middle class in Italy and by a small group in Rome, men of theory like Cicero, and others who envied the power of Caesar. In spite of the weak showing of the Republican party in the west, there was an element of protest in the Ides of March which was not neglected by Augustus. If we compare the plans of Caesar and the *acta* of Augustus, we find that the "son" achieved a diplomatic victory over the Parthians, that he continued the advance towards world-empire, that at the end of forty-two years (44-2 B.C.) he had established a dynastic monarchy in all but name, that he had restricted citizenship to the sons of Italy, and that he had based his life work on the sacrosanctity, the divine character, of Rome's First Citizen. The protest, as heeded by Augustus, was founded on the hatred of the name king, and on an intense sectional patriotism, not on religious objections to the divine aspirations of rulers. If deification, apotheosis or incarnation had been ideas both new and objectionable to the Roman people, Augustus would not have sought, nor could he have obtained, their support by insisting upon the deification of his "father," by assuming the title of *divi filius*, and by inaugurating a literary revival which was filled with references to him as *Σωτήρ οἰκουμένης*, *divinus puer*, *iste deus*, etc.³¹

³¹ Heinen, *Klio*, XI, 139 ff.

The third source of evidence against the unwillingness of the west to enter into the spirit of the imperial cult is the work of Tacitus. No historian of antiquity is more notorious for his partisanship, no writer has a greater reputation for skillfully concealing the truth when it does not conform to his thesis, nor has his equal been found in ability to condemn with a phrase and cast suspicion over a whole life with an adjective. If the Roman people had been the unwilling victims of an imperial policy for a century, the work of Tacitus would never have seen the light of day. Certainly in his time the institution was so firmly established in the hearts of the people that the publication of so scathing a denunciation could be permitted by Trajan without fear of revolution. One may with justice refuse to accept the unsupported testimony of a man who spent the best years of his life in silent protest against a system which the rest of the world welcomed. The proof of that welcome is to be found in the growth of the voluntary reverence paid to the rulers of Rome.

That the people of the three provinces of the Iberian peninsula considered Augustus worthy of divine honors, and sought to offer him those honors voluntarily is the conclusion reached after a study of the municipal cult in those provinces. The first cult was founded in a municipality which had every reason to be thankful both to Rome and to Augustus for its prosperity and prominence, and at a time when its favors had reached the limit of hope and desire. Thanks to Rome, Tarraco had risen from a small Iberian village to become the most important city in the peninsula,³² the capital of its largest province. The divine Julius had granted it the *ius coloniae*, and the emperor himself had received two consulships from the Roman people while resting within its walls. It is true that the request of the citizens of Tarraco may have been forced from them by a despotic master, or that they made the request as a matter of form, hoping to flatter their visitor with a display of reverence which they did not feel. But as the evidence cumulates it militates more and

³² The best account of Tarraco is that of Hübner, *Römische Heerschaft in Westeuropa* (reprinted from *Hermes*, I, 92 ff.).

more strongly against this hypothesis. We cannot discover the sincerity of these men by an examination of the evidence which they have left; but by determining the method of growth and by ascertaining on which side the initiative lay, we can at least approximate the attitude of the devotees of the imperial cult.

The first fact which attracts the attention is that in all the provinces of Spain, the municipal cults antedated the foundations of the provincial cults. Again, it is known that Augustus insisted that the statue of the goddess Roma be associated with his:³³ but "after the ascension of the divine Augustus," to quote Tacitus,³⁴ the request to establish a cult to the *divus* alone was made by the Spaniards. The divinity of the first *princeps* was recognized by the provincials, and in their enthusiasm some coins were struck at Tarraco with the inscription "Deo Augusto."³⁵ In the third place a cult of Tiberius Caesar Augustus was surely established by local initiative, not at the request of the *princeps*. Finally, though the official inclusion of other *principes* in the imperial cult had its beginnings in 54 A.D. when Livia was deified, still on Spanish coins struck before the death of Caligula there are references to Livia as Juno.³⁶ None of these acts would come from people to whom the ideas of incarnation were repugnant.

In the establishment of a state religion, Augustus followed precedents. There was nothing new in any of its details. The adoration of the goddess Roma, which is often described as an innovation, had its beginnings in the days of the Republic. Roma was the Greek personification of the Eternal City's power. The important position given to this goddess by Augustus was a pledge of his loyalty to Rome and to Italian nationalism, not a proof of his reluctance to receive divine honors.

The arguments in favor of the sincerity of Augustus and the people of the Roman West in their acceptance of divine kingship could be strengthened by a study of the spread of the mes-

³³ Heinen, *op. cit.*, p. 147, note 5.

³⁴ "Ab excessu divi Augusti."

³⁵ Eckhel, *Doctrina nummorum*, I, 1, p. 57.

³⁶ Heiss, *Description generale*, 272.

sianic idea throughout the Hellenistic world, by an analysis of political theories from the days of Isocrates to those of Panaetius and Cicero, and by recognition of the general demand for a universal peacemaker. To charge Augustus with hypocrisy is to endow him with an intelligence superior to those of the greatest political thinkers and theologians of his day. To what extent were his successors of the same mind? The usual summary of the principate of Tiberius may be expressed as a series of ditto marks. He is credited with a continuation of the policies and institutions of Augustus. We learn from Tacitus, however, that Tiberius would not receive divine honors, that he insisted upon his mortality. This was indeed a break with the program of Augustus, but it is to be explained by reasons other than the ones generally advanced. Tiberius was chosen by Augustus not so much as his successor as the guardian of the true successor, Germanicus.³⁷ His refusal to accept divine honors was in harmony with the wishes of Augustus, at least until the death of Germanicus. But from that point his refusal rested no longer on the ground that he was merely a vice-regent. It has been explained as the act of a tyrant who refused to carry out the folly of religious pretence to cloak his absolutism. Tiberius was not wholly without religious ideas, however, no matter what his attitude towards the imperial cult may have been, for we know that he was deeply interested in solar monotheism.³⁸ He did not attempt to make his personal belief the state religion of the empire, but his withdrawal from the dynastic cult system as inaugurated by Augustus weakened the whole Augustan program. The *acta* of Tiberius were not made permanent by the deification of their author, succession was left to chance and intrigue, and the continuity of policy disturbed. The imperial cult had at least this measure of support from Tiberius: during his principate provincial cults were established in the three Spanish provinces and elsewhere, and the municipal cults to Augustus continued to increase in number.

³⁷ Augustus forced the adoption of Germanicus upon Tiberius.

³⁸ Cf. the relations of Tiberius with Manilius.

It is difficult to discover in the distorted accounts of a "mad-man's" career any proof of his sincerity in any policy. Nevertheless, on the subject of his own divinity Caligula gave vent to an insistence which had none of the earmarks of hypocrisy. If the charge of insanity be treated as false, the actions of Caligula can be explained as a tactless but forceful continuation of the plans of Caesar.³⁹ Claudius, in his turn, believed that the responsibilities of his position entitled him to divine honors. His policy was Caesarian in that he expected those honors before his *excessus*, but to this he added the plan of Augustus in which members of the imperial family were to be deified, as well as the *principes*.

There are two more "proofs" of disbelief in the imperial cult and its tenets by the emperors. The first is at the expense of the young Nero. It is said that no one who would be pleased with, or allow the publication of, Seneca's *Apokolokyntosis* could be sincere in his maintenance of a cult so ridiculed. Let it be remembered that Nero was but a youth when this skit was read to him by his guardian. Even had he arrived at years of discretion, proof would still be lacking that the institution and not the individual Claudius was the target of the satirist. Medieval literature abounds with attacks upon individual popes by men whose belief in the Church as an institution was unquestioned. The case against Nero and his tutor is about as strong as one which might be made against Dante and his readers. The Victorian attitude of modern critics, together with the feeling that individual attack is always at the expense of the institution, has led them to accept the report of Tacitus with all its insinuations. In like manner have they made use of the dying words of Vespasian to demonstrate the disbelief of that *princeps* in the imperial cult. But these words may be taken with equal readiness as proof of the sincere belief of an honest man in his immortality, and in the eternity of his power.

The sincerity of the Spanish people in their initiation of the various cult forms, and the sincerity of the *principes* in organiz-

³⁹ Cf. Willrichs, *Caligula*.

ing and continuing the cult have their best proofs in the importance of the institution, its penetration into all social classes, and its length of life. The details of organization have been most carefully arranged and interpreted by Toutain.⁴⁰ A repetition of his conclusions is made here, simply to justify the statement that the cult was thoroughly organized. One may object to a static treatment of an institution which had an organic development, but there were certain elements which were undoubtedly permanent. The center of the cult, for example, was an altar, or a temple. Representations of these altars are to be found on the coins of Tarraco, Emerita Augusta, Ilici and Italica;⁴¹ of the temples, on the coins of Tarraco, Emerita Augusta, Ilici, Caesaraugusta, Carthago Nova, and possibly of Abdera.⁴² In the case of Tarraco, the altar was erected and dedicated first during the lifetime of Augustus, while the temple was not built until after the death of the first *princeps*. It does not follow that this sequence was observed in the cults inaugurated after 14 A.D.

With reference to the officials, practically all discussions agree in the following general characterization. The names of the officials were *flamen*, *flaminica*, *sacerdos* (man or woman), *pontifex* and *magister Larum*. The flamine was an elective office, probably annual. Eligibility to office was based on local citizenship only, although the expenses connected with the acceptance and performance of the flamine restricted the applicants to those financially capable, and the honor in which the office was held restricted the number still more closely to the most popular of the wealthy. The office could be held more than once, and in more than one community at different times. As an added token of respect, the electors often granted an honorary life flamine to their favorites.

⁴⁰ *Les cultes païens*, 152-69.

⁴¹ Tarraco, Heiss, *op. cit.*, 124; Emerita, 401; Ilici, 277; Italica, 380.

⁴² For Tarraco, Emerita, and Ilici, see preceding note. Caesaraugusta, Heiss, *op. cit.*, 202; Carthago Nova, 270. The Abdera temple (Heiss, *op. cit.*, 310) may have been an old Punic one, but was apparently rededicated to the service of the imperial cult.

Although the evidence is not so complete as regards the *sacerdos* and *pontifex*, scholars have agreed that these officials, too, held an elective office for one year, and were governed by the same rules of eligibility, honorary membership, etc. It is only when attempts have been made to differentiate the officials that a great variety of opinions have appeared. The most sweeping negative statement is that of Toutain, who denies not only the possibility of obtaining any distinction, but even the existence of any. He supports the first position by citing exceptions to almost every conceivable rule, but the affirmation that *flamen* and *sacerdos* are synonymous terms rests upon a single inscription.⁴³

The one obvious flaw in this piece of evidence is that it refers to a *flaminica*, not to a *flamen*. Even if this objection be overruled as a quibble, the fact remains that the two terms *flaminica* and *sacerdos* need not be considered synonymous, because they are connected by the word *sive*. One may ask why both titles of this priestess should so carefully be engraved if there was no distinction between them.

One distinction can be made between *flamen* and *sacerdos* in the provinces. In the days of the Republic there were municipal *sacerdotes* whose duty it was to conduct the worship of the gods of the Roman pantheon. Fiske⁴⁴ has suggested that when the municipal imperial cult was introduced into Spain it was sometimes given in charge of the existing local *sacerdotes*, at other times placed in the hands of a newly elected *flamen*. Why the new priesthood adopted a different title he does not seek to explain. To accept the implied answer of Toutain that there was no rule, no uniformity, that the nomenclature was a matter of chance, or at best depended on the whim of the community, would mean the abrupt cessation of all discussion or inquiry. But if we insist upon the existence of a rational mind directing the institution, we may at least continue setting up hypotheses until

⁴³ CIL, II, 3278. . . . *flaminicae sive sacerdoti municipi Castulonensis*. Other examples, outside of Spain, are noted by Geiger, *De sacerdotibus Augustorum municipalibus*, 3-6.

⁴⁴ Notes on the worship, 120 f.

the true one is found, or all possible conjectures are refuted. The writer has no hypothesis to propound, but he wishes to protest against the position that there is no solution simply because no solution has been found.

VII. MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE FIRST CENTURY A.D.

The work of Augustus was fundamental for the growth of the western provinces, but the superstructure of his successors was equally essential. Although complete records, official or unofficial, are lacking, such material has been preserved as to justify the assertion that Augustus and his successors used both diligence and intelligence in completing the romanization of the west through municipalization. The Iberian peninsula continued to enjoy its favored position. No radical or spectacular steps were taken in municipal development, but the increasing number of towns, the advance in status of those already organized, and the gradual substitution of municipal for tribal names in the geographers' lists and in inscriptions indicate a course of development as thorough as it was gradual.

The policy of Tiberius was extremely conservative. During his principate the municipalities of Spain enjoyed protection from corrupt officials, speedy justice, and a continuance of the advantages granted them by Augustus. The provincials were thus enabled to grow accustomed to their new mode of life, and to prepare themselves for additional privileges in the future. The one reactionary policy of Tiberius, his refusal to continue the cult of the living Augustus, brought more harm to its author and to the empire as a whole than to the people of Spain. On the other hand, the establishment of provincial imperial cults gave a religious unity to the peninsula and, as such, may be regarded as an important contribution to its national development.¹

¹ Epigraphical evidence for the principate of Tiberius is listed in CIL, II, Suppl., pp. 1096-1097. Literary sources are cited in Bouchier, *Spain under the Roman Empire*, p. 56. For the cult innovations see Kornemann, *Zur Geschichte der antiken Heerscherkulte*, p. 115.

The Spanish provinces were affected to some extent by the administrative changes of Caligula, under whom the local mints were closed. The prestige which had come from judicial control over the African towns Zilis and Icosium was removed when the province Mauretania Tingitana was formed. A number of milestones bearing the name of Caligula prove that the provincial officials were not remiss in their care for the roads during these four years.²

The activities of Claudius touched Spain even more lightly than those of his predecessor. One inscription of an individual made a citizen "*a divo Claudio*," the cognomen Claudia given, perhaps, by this *princeps* to Baelo, and a few milestones, are the only records of imperial interest in Spain from 41 to 54 A.D. Nero's principate passed without any known changes, and even the revolution of 68-69 A.D., although it centered at first around Spanish officials, was apparently confined to the military camps. The brief rule of Otho resulted in additions to Baetica of some portions of Mauretania, and the colonies of Emerita and Hispalis were given additional citizens.³

The Augustan scheme of administration had remained practically unchanged for over eighty years. It had succeeded because it gave to the provincials peace and justice. It failed because it afforded the provincials no opportunities for obtaining political equality, a failure which was remedied by Vespasian. There were many reasons why Vespasian should feel kindly disposed towards the Spanish people. He was a soldier who had campaigned in Spain, and knew the natives; he was a plebeian who had risen from the ranks to the highest position in the empire, and was perhaps, on that account, more in sympathy with others who had ambitions; his long years in the provinces had made him less selfishly national, and more cosmopolitan; his accession had been made easier by the loyalty of the legions in

² For fiscal and judicial changes see Wilrichs, *Caligula*, p. 422 and note 5; p. 316 and note 2. The inscriptions are listed in CIL, II, Suppl., p. 1097.

³ CIL, II, Suppl., p. 1097-1098; cf. introductory remarks under Baelo, Emerita and Hispalis.

Spain to his cause; and he posed as the avenger of the unfortunate Galba. For some or all of these reasons, Vespasian conferred many favors upon individuals and communities in Spain. Some veterans of the auxiliary troops enrolled in Spain were granted Roman citizenship with honorable discharges from military service. One citizen was "*adlectus ad tribunicios*;" another "*adlectus in equite*." But the most important grant was that of the *Ius Latii* to all the stipendiary communities which were organized as towns. The effects of this grant were twofold: it gave to all the citizens of the towns affected an advanced legal status, and it gave to the families of the municipal executives the full rights of Roman citizenship. The actual extent of this grant cannot be determined with accuracy. It did not make all the Iberians Romans, as Josephus reported, nor did it apply to all the stipendiary towns of Pliny's lists. Within the years which followed the reorganization of Augustus many changes must have taken place of which no record has been found. New towns, no doubt, had come into existence, and others had been reduced to the dependent status of *pagus* or *civitas contributa*. Still, the economic development of Spain under the Julians, and the great number of new towns with the cognomen Flavia favor the assumption that Vespasian's grant affected a number of towns equal to that given by Pliny.⁴

Tests of municipal advance in status under the Flavians may be made by listing the towns whose citizens were enrolled in the tribe Quirina; those which bore the cognomen Flavia; and those which possessed the Flavian name in some other form.

	Baetica	Lusitania	Citerior
Quirina	15	6	11
Mun. Flav.	13	1	12
Other towns	6

This table indicates that Baetica received the greatest share of benefit from this grant, inasmuch as the number of communi-

⁴ Newton, *Epigraphical evidence for the reigns of Titus and Vespasian*, also gives the literary references. Proof of the pacification of the north-west may be found in the withdrawal of two legions from that district. See Pätzner, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserlegionen*, 99.

ties elevated in status was proportionately greater than in Lusitania or Citerior. This was due to the advanced municipal development in that province, rather than to the favoritism of the *princeps*. The new Flavian foundations were in the northwest, where civilization was being rapidly acquired.

Among the other proofs of Vespasian's activities in Spain, the greatest interest attaches to a letter from the *princeps* to the officials and senators of Sabora in Baetica. This letter is a favorable reply to a request of the townspeople. It not only grants permission to move the town from the hills to the plain, and to retain control of those revenues which Augustus had assigned to it, but also advises the young municipality as to the proper method of making other requests, namely, through the *proconsul*. Baetica was a senatorial province, but in this instance Vespasian accepted the administrative headship as readily as it was granted by the provincials when they addressed him directly. The inscription also shows that advance in status did not necessarily bring with it increase in revenues. Just what the advantages of the Latin right were to the townspeople in the time of Vespasian cannot be stated with certainty. It is possible that the *ius commercii* encouraged local industry. At any rate, by the end of the first century A.D., Roman and Italian merchants had retired from the field in favor of Spanish dealers. The most important source material, found in the extant portions of the *Leges Salpensana* and *Malacitana*, does not touch upon the rights and powers of the individual citizens.⁵

The Iberian peninsula, by 100 A.D., was an integral part of the Roman world. The tide of influence had shifted with the complete romanization of Spain, and the steadily increasing reaction culminated in the choice of a Spaniard as the first provincial *princeps*. A study of the Spanish influence on Rome is of equal importance to that of the romanization of Spain.

⁵ Parvan, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute*.

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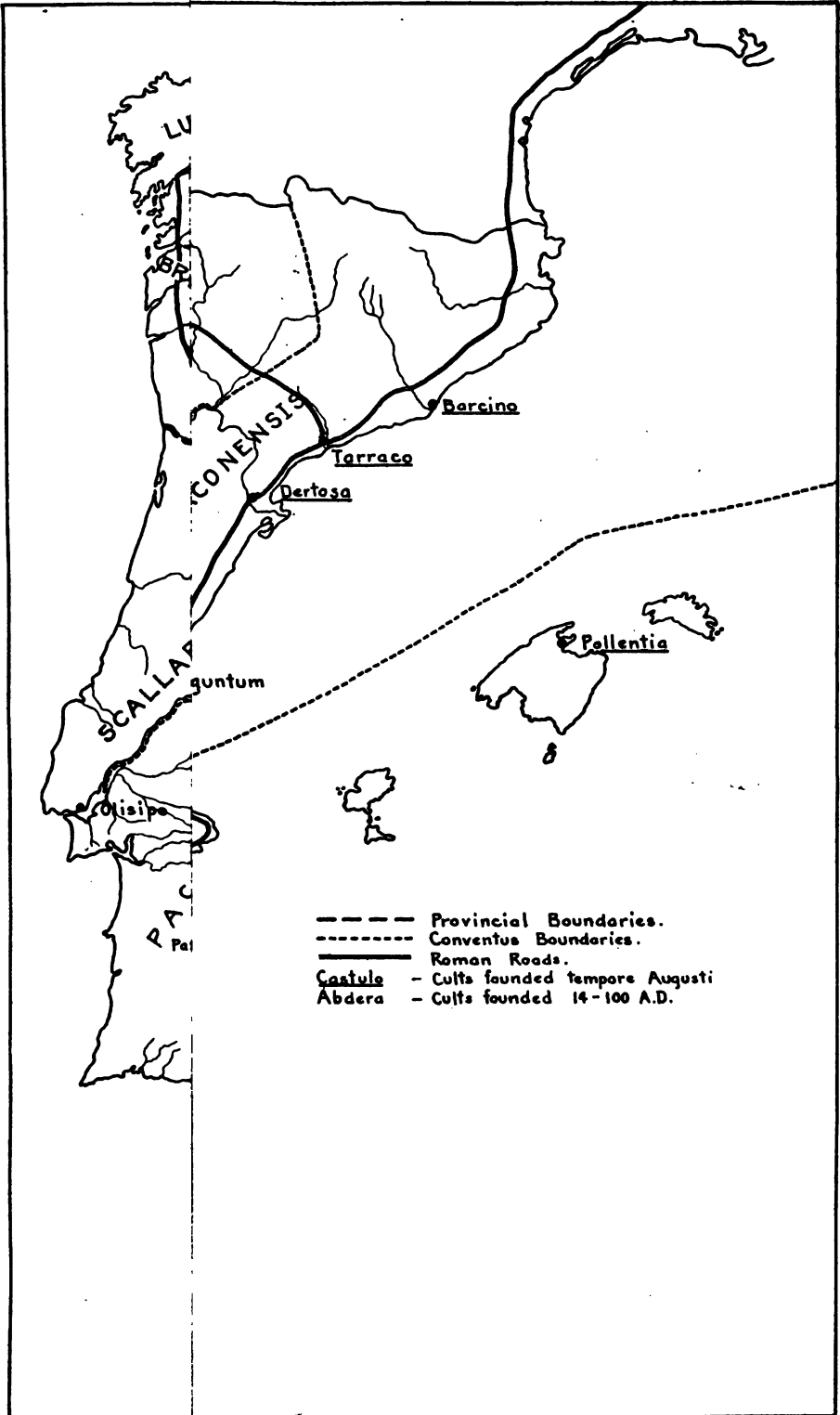
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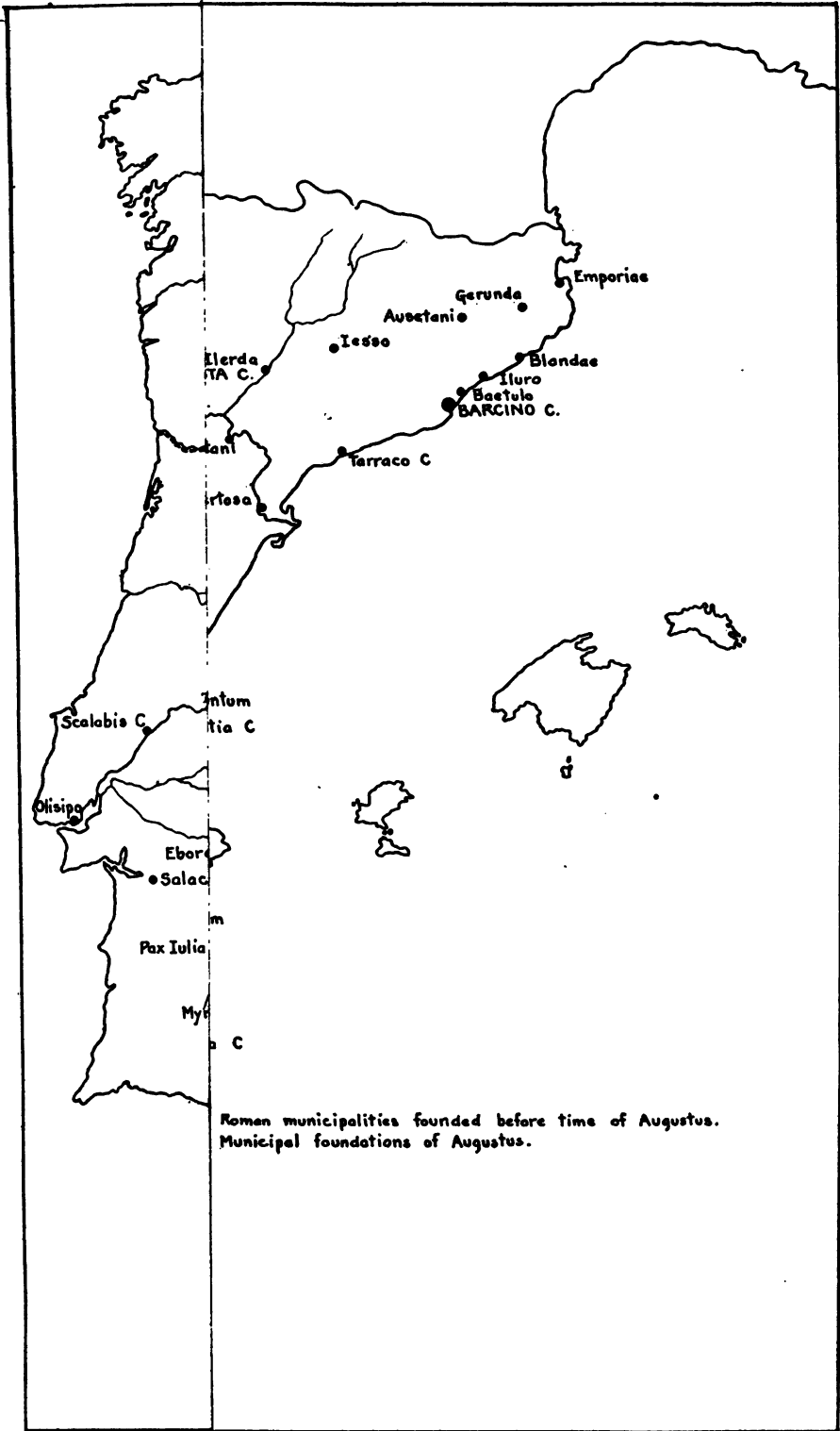
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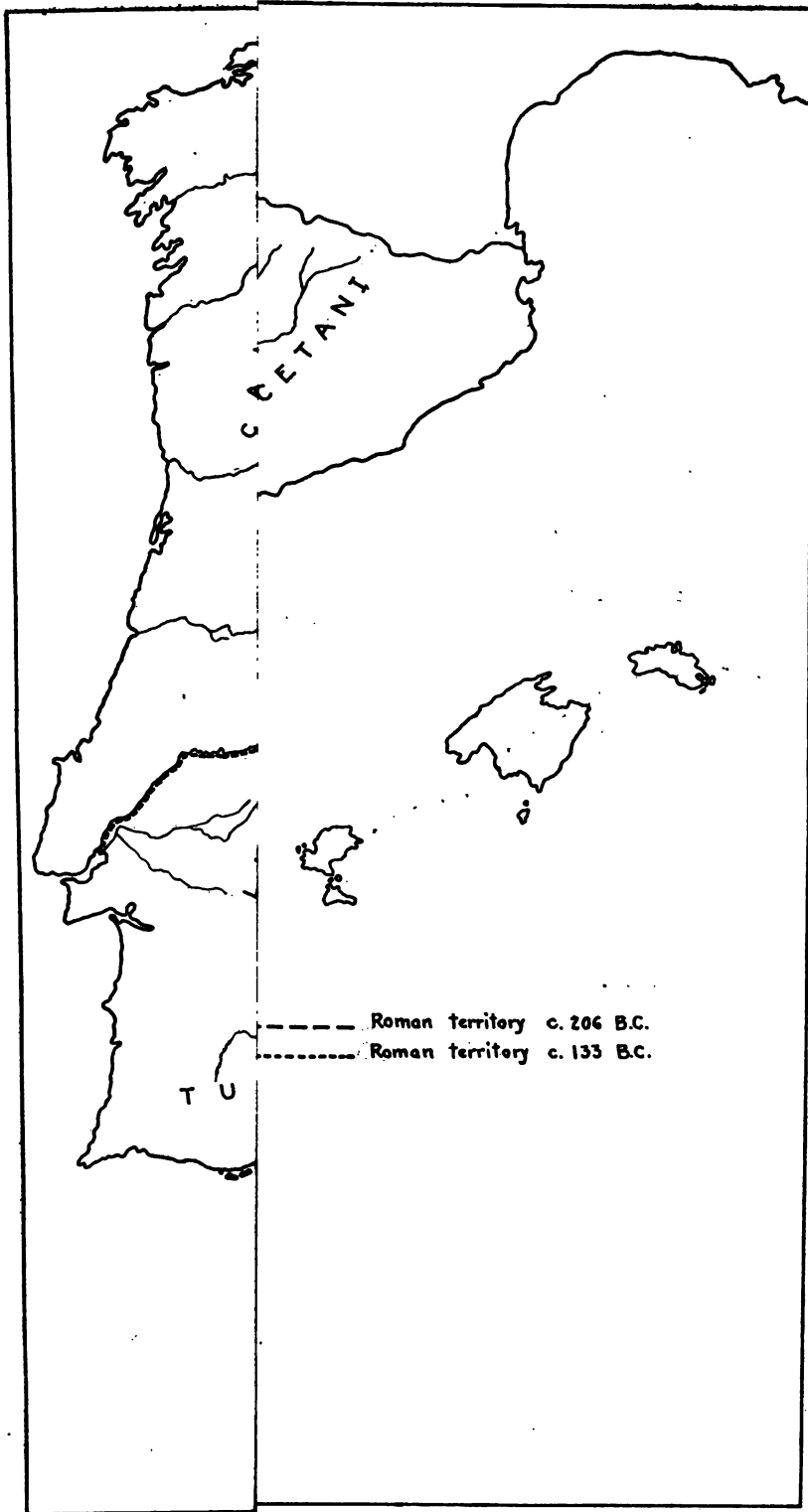
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